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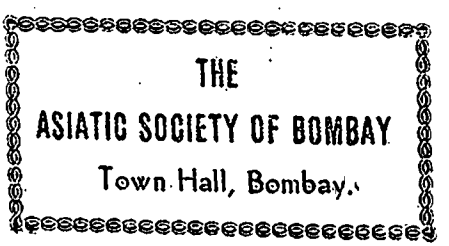

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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF THE

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

BY

GENERAL THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF THE "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and public learning."—*Icon Animorum.*

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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

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SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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PRINCE RUPERT VON PFALZ.

AN ENGLISH GENERAL AND ADMIRAL.

Born 1619, Died 1682.

PRINCE RUPERT was the third son of Frederick Elector Palatine, the unfortunate King of Bohemia, and the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, King of England: one of thirteen children, of whom the youngest was Sophia, progenitrix of the Royal Houses of Great Britain and Hanover. Rupert was born at Prague during the short-lived monarchy of his father, who died in 1632. Rupert was brought up by his mother, who passed all her widowhood in England, dying in London in 1662, after the Restoration; but how or where the Prince was educated in the troublous times of his youth does not appear; he does not seem to have come to England till 1635, when he was received in the King's palace with his eldest brother (called the Elector Palatine), who came to solicit

1619. His parentage and early education.

His first arrival in England: tries to recover the Palatinate: is defeated,

1638. — and sent a prisoner to Vienna.

the King's (his uncle's) influence for the restoration to him of his hereditary dominions. Seeing that the condition of things with King Charles was not at this time likely to aid their object, the two high-spirited Princes made a futile attempt to recover their paternal rights with their own swords; and having raised a little army in Germany, they obtained a few English followers, and were encountered in October, 1638, at Lemgo, or Leongau, and utterly discomfited by an Imperial army under Hatzfeld. The Elector escaped with difficulty, but Prince Rupert was made prisoner, and committed to the mercy of the Emperor Ferdinand at Vienna.

Is released at the solicitation of Charles I., who raises him to the peerage.

There is no reason to believe that the sins of the father were visited upon the son by the Kaiser; nor does it appear that Ferdinand even tampered with his religious faith; which, considering the mind of the man and his counsellors, is yet more surprising. It is probable that he associated with other German Princes at the Imperial capital, and that the three or four years he passed there under *surveillance* were devoted to a military education, since those who, in after years, were least inclined to favour him admit that he was well adapted, both by natural abilities and acquired endowments, to form a great commander. He could here observe from a distance the progress of affairs between the King and his Parliament, as they trended towards a warlike issue; and he was well disposed from every consideration to offer his sword to his uncle, who, it is believed, interceded with the Emperor for his release in 1642. Prince Rupert, with his younger brother Maurice, arrived in England in that year; and, that he might have a *status* in the quarrel, Charles the First advanced him to the dignity of the British Peerage by the titles of Duke of Cumberland, Earl of Holderness, and Baron Kendal, and constituted him Knight of the Garter.

Joins the

Prince Rupert was at this time scarcely twenty-

three years of age; but he was regarded as a man especially suited for military command, as he had already seen some service in the field[1]. Immediately after His Highness landed he proceeded to join the King at Nottingham, who at once gave him the generalship of the horse of the army, which had not at the moment any existence. However, among the levies that had come in were about 800 horse, few better armed than with their swords, and neither disciplined nor having horses accustomed to the ranks. Such was, however, the need of the moment, that upon this body, now placed under the command of Rupert, Charles depended for the safety of his person; for Sir Jacob Astley, who was named Sergeant-Major-General of his intended army, frankly told him "that he could not give any assurance against His Majesty's being taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose." After remaining some three weeks at Nottingham, Rupert, with the horse, was despatched to Leicester, and the King removed to Derby; but on receiving intelligence that the Parliamentary army had marched towards Worcester, His Majesty directed the Prince to cross to the other side of the Severn, and to observe the motions of the enemy, as well to give assistance to that city, as to countenance and secure the retreat of those gentlemen who were then raising forces for the Royal army. Prince Rupert's march lay through Worcester; and he was well on the alert, expecting to meet the enemy; so

1642. King at Nottingham, and is appointed to the command of the Royal cavalry: defeats a body of Parliamentarians at Worcester.

[1] I know not whether to call it national modesty or deficiency of self-respect in our people, but in all ages the English have, without exercising their judgment on the man, deferred to any foreigner who "has seen service." The Schombergs and Stahrembergs of King William the Third's day were old soldiers well known to His Majesty as men of ability; but the subsequent centuries have introduced many pretenders (or impostors as we now call them) as well into the superior commands as into the civil administration of the army, all of whom might have been better supplied by some of our own officers of ordinary intelligence.

1642. that on arriving in the city he was hardly surprised to hear that a strong party of horse and foot, under the command of Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the Lord Say, had *devanced* him; but when the Prince came thither he did not conceive any considerable part of the enemy to be near. With the prudence of an old campaigner, he formed his men outside the city old wall, where the men and horses, wearied after their long march, fed and rested themselves. Most of the officers went into the town; but the Princes, with Lord Digby and the principal officers, were reposing on the ground when Rupert espied a fair body of horse, consisting of near 500, marching in very good order within musket-shot of him. The alarm was instantly given; but there was scarce time in the confusion for all to get upon their horses, and find their places. There was no time to consult what should be done; but Prince Rupert instantly declared "that he would charge;" and Maurice and Lords Digby and Byron, with all those officers and gentlemen who were ready, set themselves to follow Rupert, who fell upon the enemy just as they were coming up out of the lane, when the whole body turned and fled, and was pursued by the victors for more than a mile. So sudden was the action, that on the Royalist side there was not a piece of armour worn that day; yet none of the King's party of any name were killed; and of those who were wounded Commissary-General Wilmot, and Sir Lewis Dives, recovered. On the other side, Colonel Sandys, who commanded, was slain; and Captain Wingate, a member of the House of Commons, was taken prisoner. But although the number of casualties was not great on either side, it was remarkable that the Royalists had but few pistols; so that the wounds were from sword-cuts only; and yet their opponents were well armed and mounted. This was the first action of the war, and proved of considerable advantage and benefit to the King, for it gave his troops

great courage, and rendered the name of Prince Rupert terrible, so as exceedingly to appal the adversary, who talked loudly of the incredible and irresistible courage of the King's horse. From thence already sprang the fame of "the Cavaliers." 1642.

Jealousy of Rupert's influence with the King.

On the other hand a jealousy soon arose in the King's party against Prince Rupert. The commission which had been given him by His Majesty contained a clause that exempted His Highness from receiving orders from any one but Charles himself; and this very soon produced evil consequences. Lord Falkland, the principal Secretary of State, either unintentionally or otherwise, signified to the Prince some direction that the King had especially commanded him not to deliver, and was rebuked by the Prince for it. Rupert was of a rough and ungracious manner by nature, and the English nobility resented it. Moreover they thought that he had too much favour shown him, and that His Majesty took his advice in preference, and even in opposition, to that of the Lord Lindsey, who was named Commander-in-chief, and thought to be fully equal to the post, for he had learned war in that same school in which Essex and the best soldiers of the day had acquired a knowledge of it—the famous camp of Maurice of Nassau.

The Earl of Ruthven joins the King, and serves under Rupert: defection of Fortescue from the rebels: battle of Edge Hill.

Prince Rupert, on the night of this affair, quitted Worcester, and retired to the Welsh side of the Severn; but Essex was so much startled by the discomfiture of his horse, that he hesitated to enter the city for two days. The King being now established at Shrewsbury for the formation of his army, Rupert and the horse took up their quarters near that town. The Earl of Ruthven[2], one of Gustavus Adolphus's own officers,

[2] This gallant Scot is frequently mentioned in the History of the Thirty Years' War; and rallying now to the service of his own Sovereign, he was created Earl of Brentford. But his military qualities were already obscured by his age and deafness, and perhaps also from his being a very hard drinker, a point on which he had been often rallied by Gustavus Adolphus. He died in 1651.

1642. here joined the King, and received from His Majesty the commission of Field Marshal; but he preferred to attach himself as a volunteer to the cavalry force under Prince Rupert, as did Sir Arthur Aston, of whose soldiery there was also considerable esteem. The King placed his greatest confidence in his horse, who had fleshed their maiden swords so bravely; and therefore he placed them in the van of his army, when, on the 12th October, he put it in motion for Bridgnorth. On Sunday the 23rd October, the Prince, with the advance, sent the King word that the rebels were encamped within seven or eight miles of him at Keinton, on the edge of Warwickshire. Orders were immediately given that the whole army should draw out to a rendezvous at Edge Hill, which was high ground within two miles from Keinton. Essex was surprised to find at daybreak that the Royal army was so near him; but with great dexterity, although only a part of his forces were come up with him, "he chose the ground which best liked him for the encounter." Early in the morning Prince Rupert displayed the greatest part of the horse on the top of the hill; yet the foot were seven or eight miles distant; nevertheless at three o'clock in the afternoon the fight began by Rupert placing himself at the head of the King's right wing and charging the Parliamentarians; when, to the surprise of all, the leading troops of the enemy's horse, under Major Sir Faithful Fortescue, after discharging their pistols into the ground, presented themselves, with their leader, to the Prince, and joined him in his charge upon their

after having married a Swedish lady; but he left no issue, and his titles of Earl of Forth in Scotland, and Earl of Brentford in England, died with him. The Barony of Ruthven, which still survives, is the elder branch of the veteran's family: the eldest branch of the Ruthvens was the celebrated Gowrie, killed in the conspiracy of that name in 1600. A yet younger branch, Ruthven of Freeland, took part with the Covenanters; and these two individuals on opposite sides create some confusion in Clarendon's History.

old comrades. The King's horse were not, under this contingency, restrained; and "they had the execution of them above two miles." 1642.

When Prince Rupert returned from this most ill-advised chase he found the King's affairs utterly discomposed. His Majesty himself, with a few noblemen and a small retinue about him, yet kept the field. But the foot had been routed, and the General, the Earl of Lindsey, killed, so that things already bore so ill an aspect, that many were of opinion that the King ought to leave the field. But Charles was resolute against the advice, well knowing that as the army had been raised by his presence, it could only be kept together by it, and that to forsake it would be unprincely. His Majesty therefore exerted himself stoutly to get the horse to charge again; but the officers could not be persuaded or drawn to act either against the enemy's reserve of horse or the main body of their foot, which still kept the ground. What Prince Rupert did in this contingency is never mentioned; yet he could scarcely have failed in his duty to endeavour to rally his horse to assist the King.

Gallant conduct of the King's troop of guards.

At the entrance into the fight at Edge Hill, the King's troop of guards, upon a little provocation on having been called the day before "the troop of show," besought His Majesty that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in front among the horse. They were about 300 in number, all volunteers, and men of such considerable position, that the estates of the whole troop were valued at 100,000*l.* a year. Sir Philip Warwick, who records this fact, was one of them; but he does not explain how it was that, above all the Cavaliers, the volunteer guards of noblemen and gentlemen should have so disgracefully neglected strict obedience to the King's commands. Clarendon relates that Sir Faithful Fortescue's troop suffered considerably for their new-born loyalty in this fight; for, as they omitted to cast away their orange-tawny scarves, which they all

1642. wore as the Earl of Essex's colours, they were suddenly assailed while they were scattered in the field, and were killed by those to whom they had joined themselves. Both armies remained on the field looking on one another the whole of the next day, when the Parliamentarians marched away. After remaining three days the King moved to Banbury, where he took the Castle, and thence to Oxford and Reading, when, after some negotiation with the Parliament, he advanced on the 11th November to Colebrook.

Brentford taken by Rupert.

Prince Rupert was so elated with the idea of the terror caused in the Parliamentary army by his name, that, without any direction from the King, he heedlessly advanced with his horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and thence sent back to desire that the army might march thither after him. Accordingly the King came from Colebrook, where he received the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, and some of the Commons as Commissioners from the Parliament, who had directed that their army should not exercise any act of hostility towards the King's forces during the conference. But Essex had a part of his army at Brentford; and Prince Rupert, who had taken possession of a strong house on the road, belonging to Sir Richard Gwyn, led forward a Welsh regiment of the King's, which had been thought faulty in the fight at Edge Hill and desired to recover its honour. This led to a successful assault of the town of Brentford, after a very warm action, in which many officers and men were killed; and above 500 prisoners, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of cannon, with good store of ammunition, were captured. But this precipitate attack of Prince Rupert was made the occasion of great scandal to the Royal cause, as it was alleged that Brentford was assaulted while the negotiations were pending. The Royal army accordingly drew off to Kingston and Reading, where the King's principal care was the procurement of money and supplies for his troops. This was a very difficult matter, and it

was rendered more so from Prince Rupert's haughty inconsiderateness: for he chose to regard the subsistence of the horse as his especial province, and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions which the counties within his command willingly submitted to should be assigned to any other use than the support of the horse, and to be collected for them* and distributed by his own officers. All which independent action seriously impoverished the maintenance of the foot, as well as His Majesty's maintenance of his horse; for he had not received one penny of his customary revenue. 1643.

In the beginning of February, 1643, Prince Rupert, having assembled a good force at Oxford, made a successful attempt upon Cirencester, a good town in Gloucestershire, which the rebels had fortified and garrisoned strongly, and which, being on the frontiers of Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, greatly straitened the King's quarters. As the works were not yet finished, it was thought it might be stormed with success; and this was quite within the genius of the Prince. It was resolved to make the attempt in several places; and though the works were obstinately defended, yet the Royalists succeeded in entering the lines, with some loss of men. The town yielded much plunder; but soldiers in the work of an assault make no distinction, and consider every one in the place an enemy; so that it was said that many Royalists, who had been put into prison by the Puritans, found themselves at liberty, but utterly ruined and undone nevertheless. The Prince left a good garrison for its defence, while he availed himself of his success to put the whole country around under contribution. Rupert brought away from Cirencester 1100 prisoners, who were led in triumph to Oxford, tied together with cords, and almost naked. The King and Lords looked on them, and too many smiled at their misery; but their guards beat them and drove them before them like dogs.

Rupert lays siege to and takes Cirencester, Feb.

1643. — Lichfield taken by the Parliamentarians. Action on Hopton Heath: the Earl of Northampton taken prisoner, March.

About the same time some gentlemen of Staffordshire seized on Lichfield for the King,—a place naturally strong, and with a very high and thick wall. But Lord Brook marched against it for the Parliament; and though he was killed in the siege, the place yielded before Lord Northampton had advanced to the relief of the Cathedral Close from his garrison at Banbury; and when he found it already in the hands of Sir John Gell, the Earl proceeded to Stafford, into which town a great body of the King's adherents had thrown themselves. The Parliamentarians withdrew before him in order to unite with Sir William Brereton, from Nantwich, when they returned to fight the Earl of Northampton. The opposing forces were unequally matched. Gell had 3000 horse and foot, with a good train of artillery; and his adversary had not above 1000. They met on Hopton Heath, about two miles from Stafford. It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when the opponents came in sight, and the Earl, relying on his force of cavalry, which was nearly equal to the Puritan horse, charged with such success as totally to rout one flank; and, rallying his men, he charged the other flank, utterly dispersed it, and captured eight pieces of cannon. But in this second charge Northampton had his horse killed under him, and was taken prisoner and slain. The loss of this eminent man was a great grief to the King, for he had been bred up with him and was of his household. He was sincerely attached to His Majesty, and refused quarter "from such base rogues and rebels as they were," before he would yield up his life to his captors. But he left behind him six sons, five of whom had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon them, and the youngest became especially distinguished as the Bishop of London under whom St. Paul's was rebuilt.

Rupert retakes Lichfield:

About the beginning of April Prince Rupert, with 1200 horse and 700 foot, marched towards Lichfield,

to endeavour to recover it for the King. On his way he had a brush with the townspeople at Birmingham, which place he took, and continuing his course sat down to lay siege to the Close of Lichfield Cathedral. As he had so small a force suited to such an undertaking, many of the Cavaliers consented to serve on foot. Having succeeded in draining the moat, they mined the thick wall, and with so much success as to make a breach of twenty feet in extent in a place least suspected by the besieged, who omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men under a very resolute man as Governor, Colonel Rouswell, to defend its approach. In this assault many of the besiegers were killed, and more than one mine was damaged before the assailants could get through the wall; and the dispute was fiercely continued until conditions for the Prince were obtained. His Highness was very proud of his conquest, though he had lost many of his best officers and soldiers, and the survivors were much fatigued and shaken. Nevertheless, the very next day Prince Rupert received a positive order from the King to make all possible haste with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from the West, to the relief of Reading, before which Essex had sat down in form on the 15th. Whereupon His Highness placed Colonel Bagot, of a good and powerful family in the county of Stafford, in the government of Lichfield, and hastened away to join the King, whom he found in march betwixt Oxford and Reading.

1643. — marches to relieve Reading.

As they drew near the town, the Royal army, commanded by the Earl of Forth (Ruthven) was encountered by the enemy, and after a sharp conflict was forced to retire. It turned out that the garrison, disappointed of the earlier relief they had been led to expect, had made overtures of surrender so far even as to have delivered up hostages, and this attack had been made to prevent any interruption to the treaty. At night Colonel Fielding, the Governor, found his way

Reading surrenders on terms: dissatisfaction at this.

1643. out of the beleagured town to the King's person, to represent the state of the garrison, and to report that they were in treaty, and had reason to expect good conditions. The King, taking council with Prince Rupert, told Fielding that if he could procure liberty to march away with all his arms and baggage, he should close on such terms. The Governor returned, and the Royal head-quarters remained at Nettlebeck, a village seven or eight miles distant from Reading, where His Majesty heard next day that the articles were agreed upon; and, as soon as the garrison joined the Royal army, the whole body marched to Oxford. Here the intrigues of faction raised a question "that there had not been fair carriage, and that Reading had been betrayed." Charles accordingly, in the weakness of his character, ordered Fielding to be committed, and brought to trial before a Court of War. Although there was no colour of proof that he had acted treacherously, and although, as has been stated, he surrendered with the King's permission, yet he was sentenced to lose his head "for not obeying orders." This judgment was however remitted by His Majesty. "So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult is it to play a game of reputation in that nice and jealous profession."

Prince Rupert occupied himself while at Oxford in making camisadoes on the Parliament quarters that lay between Reading and Abingdon with good success. The famous Colonel Urry suggested that the quarters near Thame should be beat up, in which the renowned patriot John Hampden "perished in the field." This happened at Chalgrove-field, where he had first executed the ordinance of the Militia in his own county, in which his reputation was very considerable.

Rupert and Maurice invest Bristol, July 24: the assault.

The King's affairs began now to wear a more promising aspect, and Charles resolved to take the offensive. Waller had met with a reverse at Roundway Down; and the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice had possessed themselves of Bath, where

they now rested for the King's orders. His Majesty 1643.
therefore proposed to Prince Rupert that he should take a force with him from Oxford, and set himself down before Bristol, on the Gloucestershire side, while the Marquis and Prince Maurice should appear against the city simultaneously on the Somersetshire side. The two armies marched on this service with so much concurrence, that on the 24th July both sat down before Bristol; and the investment was made so effectual, that none could go out of or into the city without great hazard of being captured. Steps had also been taken on the side of the haven to surround the garrison, and all the enemy's ships that were in the King's Road were seized from the seaward. These were found to be laden with goods of great value in plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, together with many persons of quality who were carrying abroad their valuables, and hoping to escape the hazard of a siege. The garrison was reputed to consist of 2500 foot and a regiment of horse under Nathaniel Fiennes, the son of the Lord Say. The line about the town was complete, but the graff, or ditch, was wider and deeper in some places than in others. The castle within the town was well supplied with provisions of all sorts for a siege. A Council of War was immediately called. One party was for proceeding by way of approach, because there was no army of the enemy in the field to advance to its relief; and because the works were so strong, that, if they should be defeated, all their summer hopes would be destroyed. It was besides alleged, that the well-affected part of the population would be sacrificed by a storm. On the other hand a numerous party was for an immediate assault, alleging that the work was easy and better suited to the temper of the soldiers than "a dull patient design." To this side Prince Rupert characteristically inclined with much importunity; and although the resolve was a rash one, it was boldly and resolutely undertaken. The army

1643. was told off in six divisions, of which three were of the Marquis's men, and three of the Prince's. The Somersetshire, or west side, was easy of approach, but inconvenient and dangerous to storm by reason of the broad plain before the ramparts, which were well flanked with a deep graff. The Gloucestershire side had before it a low and weak wall and shallow graff. On the west side there was too large a preponderance of officers for such small divisions as of 500 men each, but these little circumstances prove the immoderate disdain of danger and appetite of glory. One division, led by Sir Nicholas Slanning, was accompanied by Colonel Trevannion, Lieutenant-Colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers. The second was led by Colonel Buck, assisted by Colonel Wagstaffe, Colonel Bernard Ashley, and other field officers; and the third was led by Sir Thomas Basset, the Major-General. These three divisions fell on their work with courage and resolution. The middle one got over the graff and mounted the wall, yet the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the stout defence made by the besieged, caused this attempt to fail signally, and the assailants were driven back with great slaughter. On Prince Rupert's side they had better success; for although the division led on by Lord Grandison was beaten off, and the other led by Colonel Bellasis had no better fortune, yet the third, under Colonel Washington, who advanced between the other two, found a hole in the curtain wall, into which they entered, and were speedily followed by the cavalry, who poured in under the guidance of the Prince himself, who forthwith formed up the horse and foot together and marched straight up to the Fromegate, under a heavy fire of musketry from walls and windows. The town was, however, far from won; but fortunately the besieged beat a parley, and Rupert gladly embraced the opportunity he had not expected, and without loss of time got hostages into his hands. The treaty commenced at two in the after-

noon, and before ten at night the capitulation was concluded. The loss sustained by the Royalists in the assault was inestimable, for it was very hard to be repaired. They numbered at the least 500 killed, with many excellent officers—Lord Grandison died of his wounds, Colonels Lunsford and Moyle were killed; Colonel Buck, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Colonel Trevannion, Major Kendall, and many others of note were severely wounded. It was evident that this great success added lustre to the Royalist cause, while it very deeply affected the Parliament, where jealousies and apprehensions among themselves were already rife; for news at the same time reached them that Lord Fairfax had been defeated in the North. So that the two Houses, in their misgivings, resolved to send a Committee into Scotland to desire their brethren of that kingdom presently to advance into England with an army for their relief. The King, at Oxford, as soon as the news of the taking of Bristol reached him, ordered a solemn thanksgiving to God for this success, which was immediately and publicly performed, Charles a [1] Henrietta Maria devoutly assisting at it. 1643.

The King's "Declaration" after the capture of Bristol.

The King's first thought after the capture of Bristol was to see in what degree it might aid in procuring a happy peace; for he fondly hoped that it might be the last acquisition which he should purchase at the price of his subjects' blood; accordingly His Majesty assembled his Privy Council immediately after the thanksgiving service was over. How to work upon the discomposed humours of his enemies, and to reduce them to such a temper as might tend to an accommodation, was the subject of the consultation. And the next day His Majesty published a "Declaration" to all his loving subjects after his victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, and the taking of Bristol by His Majesty's forces.

The King appoints

The sunshine of the conquest was soon, however, somewhat clouded by the jealousies and misunder-

1643. standings of the Royal commanders. From the very beginning there was no cordiality between the Princes and the Marquis of Hertford. Prince Rupert was always disposed to count too much on his being nephew of the King; while the Marquis, as Lord Lieutenant of Somersetshire, regarded himself in his own county not only as influential but as supreme, and considered that he was perhaps better versed in the affairs of the county than the Prince, who was only present with his army as Lieutenant-General. Accordingly, without communication with either of the Princes, he appointed Sir Ralph Hopton to the government of Bristol. Rupert, on hearing of this, wrote to the King to request that His Majesty would bestow the government of the city on himself; which the King readily consented to, not suspecting any dispute about it. This step created a great deal of very bad blood. The King was very fond of his nephew, but had likewise a very just esteem for the Marquis; while, moreover, Sir Ralph Hopton was an officer of rare merit, and very popular in the city and adjacent country. Whereupon the King resolved to take a journey in person to Bristol to compose this difference and to give such a rule in the matter as he should find most expedient. His entrance into the city was made with all fitting solemnity, and with great rejoicing. The Marquis of Hertford was received with all kind and obliging expressions imaginable, but was urged in private to consent that the Royal promise should be kept with Prince Rupert, who immediately sent a commission to Sir Ralph Hopton to act as Lieutenant-Governor, signifying "that, though he should maintain the superior title, His Highness would not at all meddle in the government, and would leave Sir Ralph to be as absolute in the place as if the original commission had been granted to him." Upon which all discourse or debate of difference was terminated for the present.

Rupert Governor of Bristol: ill consequences of this.

The King found it now high time to resolve to what

The King

action next to dispose his armies,—whether Prince Rupert and Lord Hertford should remain united to march in one upon the next design, and what that design should be. Some correspondence with the chief gentlemen of Dorsetshire made it desirable to send a detachment against Dorchester, where the Parliamentarians had a garrison. The young Earl of Carnarvon was accordingly associated with the Prince Maurice, and sent with a flying body into the West, where they soon obtained the submission of Dorchester, Portland, and Weymouth, and subsequently of Exeter and Barnstaple; and a considerable part of the western counties declared for the King. The resolution taken concerning the remainder of the forces, under the King himself, was, after much debate, to besiege Gloucester, which city is little more than twenty miles from Bristol; and it was thought good policy not to leave so strong a town occupied by an enemy so near it. The possession of that city would, moreover, render the Royalists masters of the whole valley of the Severn, —from Bristol to Shrewsbury,—and would secure the fidelity of Wales, into which Principality the enemy would thus be debarred all entrance except from the seaboard. On Wednesday the 10th of August the army appeared before Gloucester, having assumed a position on a gentle eminence within two miles of it. The King was not long set down before it when he was summoned away on business to Oxford; and Prince Rupert remained with the army before Gloucester, where the business proceeded very slowly, for the Royal army was not supplied sufficiently with siege materials. The garrison made many sharp and bold sallies, and the Governor, Massey, left nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. A great deal of sickness broke out in the Royal army, and the discipline of the besiegers was very much broken by the disposition to individual foraging, which gave rise to much cruelty and rapine against the inhabitants of

1643. — invests Gloucester, 10th Aug., but is compelled by the approach of Essex to raise the siege, the 5th Sept.

1643. the surrounding district. The intelligence from London brought every day the confirmed resolution of the Parliament to relieve Gloucester; and the King accordingly returned to his army to forward the siege. Towards the end of August the Earl of Essex marched his forces out of London by easy journeys, with an army of 8000 foot and 4000 horse. Prince Rupert immediately repaired to the outposts upon the hills above the city, to support the Lord Wilmot[4], who waited with a good body of horse about Banbury, to cause such impediments to the enemy as the country permitted. Essex marched straight forward; and, although the King's horse hung about his flanks, he pursued his direct way unchecked; so that on the 5th September the King was compelled to raise the siege, when the garrison was reduced to its last barrel of gunpowder, and was no better provided with other stores.

Inefficiency of the Royal cavalry: Rupert routs Essex at Albourne Chase.

The King took up his quarters at Sudely Castle, eight miles from Gloucester; and the Royal army was in quarters upon the high ground in that neighbourhood, in order to watch the further movements of the Parliamentary General. But it is evident from the following passage in Clarendon, that the Cavaliers were very inefficient cavalry, excepting for occasions of dash and enterprise:—"The King's horse, though bold and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be: and at this time, partly with weariness and partly with indisposition that possessed the whole army on the relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy." Essex showed more generalship on this occasion than in any former part of his military career. He remained but three days in Gloucester, during which period he, with

[4] This officer was the father of the celebrated Earl of Rochester of Charles the Second's time; and he and Rupert were not at all cordial.

wonderful energy, caused all necessary provision to be introduced into the city. He then marched north to Tewkesbury, whence doubling suddenly back again, he reached Cirencester before break of day on the 10th, where he surprised two regiments of the King's horse, and took 300 of them prisoners, together with a considerable magazine prepared there by the Royal Commissioners, which they were appointed to guard. As soon as the King heard of this he desired Prince Rupert to march after the Earl with 5000 horse, and to move with such despatch as to get between the Parliamentarians and London; while the King himself, with characteristic energy, led forward the entire force of infantry. Rupert was here in his element, and, acting with promptitude and alertness, came upon Albourne Chase, between Hungerford and Newbury, before Essex reached it, who was surprised and overthrown on being charged unexpectedly in the disorder of march by Rupert, and consequently obliged to halt his army at Hungerford. This delay enabled the King to come up with his foot and train, and to occupy Newbury, so that when Essex advanced in the morning, thinking he had only Prince Rupert and his Cavaliers to deal with, he found the Royal army arrived and formed two hours before his coming. 1643.

Preparations for action at Newbury, 17th Sept.

It was now the 17th September, and to many it seemed as if the King had, notwithstanding his blunders at Gloucester, recovered his ground. He had reached a good town in which to quarter his soldiers, while his adversary had no other lodgment than the open field; and he had fallen back on his supplies from Oxford and Wallingford, while the enemy stood in a country where they could scarcely find sustenance. Essex nevertheless advanced with good resolution, and formed up his army on Biggs Hill, within a mile of Newbury. The King had much wished to avoid the necessity of fighting; but Essex resolved to oblige the Royalists to put the whole to the hazard of a battle.

1643. — The battle, 20th Sept. The London Trained Bands.

About six in the morning of the 20th the Earl led forward his own and the Lord Roberts's horse, and charged the Royal line; but Rupert encountered them with wonderful boldness, and routed them so effectually, that the Parliamentarian foot remained altogether unprotected by any cavalry. This in the seventeenth century was regarded as a great disadvantage, according to the tactics then in vogue. Here the London trained bands and auxiliary regiments behaved admirably. They had never before seen any kind of service, yet stood firm, resolved rather to defend the ground they stood upon, than to adopt the offensive. This afforded time to their routed horse to rally. Rupert took advantage of the moment to lead his best regiments against them, and undauntedly endured their fire, but could make no impression upon their stand of pikes. Rupert turned again upon the Parliamentarian horse, whom he made to give ground; but the foot remained immovable. The King should have brought up his cannon; but he not only omitted to do this to his advantage as an assailant, but omitted to silence the guns of the enemy, which did severe execution upon the Royalist line, both of horse and foot. Thus the fight continued throughout the entire day, and it was only night that ended it.

Essex succeeds in reaching Reading, but is harassed on his way by Rupert, who joins the King, who had withdrawn to Oxford: the Prince takes Bedford: his conduct of the war is arraigned.

Why the King deserted the field in the night, and marched away towards Oxford, is not certainly known. Nevertheless, in the morning, when the Parliamentarians put themselves in order of marching, as being under an obligation to get food and rest some where, the Earl found the road clear, and marched off through Newbury towards Reading. Prince Rupert suffered the enemy to pass till the whole of the army of Essex had entered into the narrow lanes of that district; when, with a strong body of horse and about 1000 musketeers, he fell upon them and put them into great disorder, killing many, and taking many prisoners. The Earl, however, with the bulk of his army,

got safe into Reading. Prince Rupert, after this enterprise, called off his troops, and marched after the King to Oxford. Here His Highness was greatly reflected upon for many shortcomings in the course of the campaign, especially for suffering the army of Essex to enter Gloucester without any molestation, and for not compelling the Parliamentarians to fight when they were exhausted after their forced march, and while the King's army was fresh. The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts which reigned at Oxford at the time produced very serious impediments to the prosecution of the war. The King had, in the beginning of the troubles, resolved not to confer honours nor to bestow offices or preferments till the conclusion of these affairs. But the necessities and exigencies of the contest made a breach in this seasonable resolution, and compelled His Majesty, in order to obtain the money to carry on the war, and for other objects, to dispense his Royal favours: and so by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, he now bestowed honours upon some principal officers of the army. These things did not please the Prince, who was utterly ignorant of the Constitution and customs of the kingdom; and, being wholly set upon actions of war, and of an unpolished roughness of nature, he became less patient to bear and consequently less skilful to judge of those things which, as he had now become the leading General, should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust. His Highness was eager for action. In the beginning of October the Prince, with a strong body of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, with its garrison. He afterwards fortified Towcester, and left a strong garrison there. These acquisitions were supposed to add little strength to the King, for he lost a good many horse in the fatigue that the duty of protecting the foot imposed upon them. But still the works at these

1643.
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1643. — places were intended to watch over and control the Parliamentary forces, which were established in force near St. Albans.

The Prince Elector arrives in London, and is well received by the Parliament, much to the King's chagrin.

Before the close of the year 1643, the Prince Elector, eldest brother of Rupert, unexpectedly arrived in London. He had been with the King when His Majesty quitted the metropolis, and had accompanied the Court to York; and he continued there till the resolution to raise an army was arrived at, when, on a sudden, without giving the King many days' notice of his intention, he embarked for Holland. He had always been received and cherished by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and had been supplied with a yearly pension of 12,000*l.* He was now, on his arrival in London, received with ceremonies by the Parliament, and lodged in Whitehall. All this very much disturbed the King, who, however, took no other open notice of the proceeding than to express that he was sorry on his nephew's behalf that he thought fit to declare such a compliance.

1644. The Scots prepare to invade England: Rupert is sent to defend the northern frontier.

After the successes of the Parliament in the last year before Gloucester and Hull, Commissioners were sent this year into Scotland to negotiate an alliance against the King. The result of this negotiation, which was principally managed by Sir Henry Vane, was, that the month of January witnessed a Scotch army on the borders, ready to march into England to assist the Covenanters. The defeat likewise of Colonel Bellasis at Selby by Fairfax, and of the Irish auxiliaries under Lord Byron, near Chester, together with the terror of the Scottish army, rendered the northern portion of the kingdom, which had been till then at the King's devotion, so insecure, that his adherents in those parts were in great distress before the season was ripe to take the field. In this strait, though it was yet the depth of winter, the King found it necessary to order Prince Rupert, with a good force of horse and foot, to march instantly to Shrewsbury and Chester,

where he was to make new levies, and, after having provided for the security of those important quarters, he was to be ready to attempt the relief of Newark, which town had importuned His Majesty to send aid to them in their exigency. The garrison then consisted of most of the gentry of the county, and was ill supplied with every thing but courage and loyalty. The enemy was already proceeding by approach, and it was plainly discerned that the loss of Newark would cut off all communication between Oxford and York, and seriously jeopardize the Royal cause. 1644.

Rupert relieves Newark.

Although Prince Rupert was unwilling to be interrupted in the Palatine counties, yet the urgency of the advices from Oxford obliged him to repair to Newark before he wished: and accordingly, with 7000 men, he suddenly attacked the besiegers on the bridge across the Trent on the 21st March. A Scot of the name of Meldrum, a good soldier, though formerly a menial servant of the King, was managing the siege with great courage and diligence; and the enemy was strong, well posted, and very resolute. This man relied upon his intelligence, which was for the most part good,—that the Royalists had no sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place; and therefore, when Rupert arrived, charging and routing some of their outposts, who fled for safety into their very entrenchments, Meldrum concluded that the Prince must have brought with him a vast force to throw his troops into such confusion; and accordingly he sent a trumpet to ask for terms, and was fain to be permitted to march away with their baggage, but without arms or ammunition. The Prince therefore entered the beleaguered town, where Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, and Sir Gervase Clifton, commanded, and had husbanded the resources and contributions of the county with great wisdom and fidelity: and Newark was relieved at a cost to the enemy of above 4000 arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder.

1644. — Rupert relieves the Countess of Derby, besieged in Latham House by Rigby: and then takes Bolton and Liverpool, but fails at Manchester.

This expedition gained very great reputation for the Prince; and he returned to the West, to carry out the King's commands in the two Counties Palatine. On his march he took by storm Stockport, on the borders, and, marching with great expedition, relieved that heroic lady, the Countess of Derby, who had maintained for eighteen weeks her lord's house at Latham against a close siege. She had made some most gallant sorties, and a few days previous to the Prince's arrival, on the 6th May, had repulsed an attack, in which she had slain 300 of the besiegers. Colonel Rigby was in command of the Parliamentary forces, consisting of 2000 men; but on the approach of Rupert he quickly raised the siege, and marched away to Bolton. The Prince followed him, and speedily reduced that town by assault, not affording Rigby's men time to settle down, and putting great numbers to the sword. Rigby himself escaped with difficulty to Bradford, and the Royalist army supplied their wants from the country for miles around, after it was thus effectually cleared of any enemy. The Prince summoned Liverpool, of which Colonel More was Governor; but did not get possession of it till after every thing of value had been conveyed on board the shipping in the Mersey, and carried out to sea. The Prince, however, was not so fortunate as to gain Manchester. It was while Prince Rupert rested at Liverpool that he received a letter from the King, ordering him to march with all speed to the relief of York, which was very closely besieged by the English and Scotch armies, under Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven.

Rupert marches to relieve York: episode respecting the magnanimous Countess of Derby.

While Rupert marches away to the relief of York, it would be ungallant in any soldier to leave that heroic lady, the Countess of Derby, to remain at Latham House, expecting to endure another siege, without a few historic words; especially as the chit-chat of our own times has introduced the names of Derby and Rupert together into the records of the strife of debate.

"'Twas when they raised, mid sap and siege, 1644.
The banner of their rightful liege,
At their she-captain's call,
Who, miracle of womankind!
Lent mettle to the meanest hind
That manned her Castle wall [5]."

Charlotta, Countess of Derby, was the daughter of Claude, Duc de Trémouille, in France, by Charlotta, daughter of William of Orange and his third wife, Charlotta of Bourbon, consequently she was of a very high and princely extraction. She was wife to that truly heroic Royalist—James, seventh Earl of Derby, who, while defending the Isle of Man with resolution and success, left to his heroic wife the task of defending his principal residence in England. In 1644 this was besieged by the Parliamentary forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, who offered her honourable terms when he sat down before it. But she answered that she was under double trust,—to her King, and to her husband; and that without their leave she would not give it up. The formal siege was accordingly undertaken, which she resisted with many sallies of incredible valour, which were wonderfully successful. The assailants lost 2000 men in these conflicts, which continued for four months; and this so vexed the Parliamentarians, that Colonel Rigby, their commander, was provoked into sending her a rude summons. "Tell that insolent rebel Rigby, Mr. Trumpeter," said the Countess in reply, "that if he presumes to send another summons within this place, I will have the messenger hung up at the gates." She was, as we have seen, relieved by the arrival of Prince Rupert; but, before the end of the year, she was exposed to a second siege, and was compelled to surrender herself and her defenders prisoners. After the surrender of Latham House Lady Derby rejoined her lord in their island territory,

[5] William Stewart Rose.

1644. which he continued to hold for the King. Oliver Cromwell sent him a request to surrender the Isle of Man on his own terms, when the noble Earl returned the well-known letter, beginning, "I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer," and ending, "I scorn your proffers, I disdain your favours: I abhor your treasons, and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction." After her gallant husband's execution at Bolton, in 1651, Charlotta de la Trémouille held the Isle of Man for the King; and the Government sent her also a messenger with a letter directed to the Countess of Derby, requiring her to deliver up the castle and island to the Parliament; she refused, and these dastards in revenge, when she was compelled to submit, reduced this illustrious lady to the lowest penury and want by distrainment, and the selling, or giving away, of all the fortune and estate of the house of Stanley[6]. She survived the Restoration, and, dying in 1663, lies buried in the great family vault at Ormskirk.

The siege of York raised on the approach of Rupert, 30th June: his injudicious conduct after this success.

The Marquis of Newcastle was at this time cooped up in York, and closely besieged by three armies; for the Earl of Manchester, with the levies from the Associated Counties, had united with Fairfax and Leven, or Leslie. Rupert called in to his assistance on his march a force of horse in Lincolnshire, under Goring, and marched with such expedition towards York, that, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, he safely joined his forces with those of Newcastle. The enemy, in great consternation, raised the siege on Sunday, the 30th June, and removed their united force to a position at Marston Moor, about five miles from the city. Had the Prince known the irreconcilable differences and jealousies between the nations that

[6] "But she retained," says Hume, "the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious Commonwealth."

composed this Parliamentary army,—how the English resolved to join no more with the Scots; and they, on their side, becoming weary of the discipline and company of the English,—he would have done wisely to have let this poison do its work; and then, in all probability, the united force would have melted away. But the city being free to be entered, and affording not only a garrison grateful for its release, but plenty of provisions and ammunition for all parties, Prince Rupert took the high hand, and, without communication or consultation with the Marquis or any of the officers of the garrison, he, on the 2nd July, carried out the whole army again from the city, and formed them up in battle array against the enemy, who had no other hope than a present battle to free them from their difficulties. It is universally admitted that, in addition to a grievous want of tact in the offence which this proceeding gave the Marquis of Newcastle and his friends and followers, it was an egregious blunder in Prince Rupert to force matters to a battle at Marston Moor. 1644.

Rupert's discourteous treatment of the Marquis of Newcastle.

When the Prince, therefore, flushed with his late success, came to a conference with the Marquis of Newcastle, he did not enter into any consultation, but at once signified his pleasure that the army should fight the enemy. With his accustomed haughtiness he made no compliment or question, but at once assumed the authority of commanding the army, without paying the slightest attention to the Marquis's declared opinion. It is to be supposed that Newcastle required a sight of the King's orders for this assumption; at all events, he answered, that he was ready to obey His Highness in all things,—that he might dispose the troops as he pleased,—that he, for his own part, was ready to charge in the battle as a volunteer. His brave brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, determined to follow the same noble course. But Prince Rupert must have been strangely ignorant of mankind if he could

1644. have supposed that levies made by the Marquis, and who had gained some reputation under him, would have so readily given their faith and fidelity to one who was not even a native of their own country. Moreover the Prince had the extraordinary folly not to avail himself of the judgment of Newcastle, but arrogantly desired him to repose himself till he should begin the action; and Rupert's entire behaviour was of the most offensive kind towards one of the highest rank in the kingdom, who had always shown for his Sovereign a zeal and affection not to be surpassed, nor perhaps equalled. The natural consequence of all this was, that the Marquis of Newcastle was mortally offended.

The Battle of Marston Moor, 3rd July.

In the course of the night of the 2nd July, the three Generals of the enemy resolved to march away to Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, as if they would defend the rivers Wharfe and Ouse. Accordingly, on receiving intelligence that the Parliamentarians were in march at nine in the morning, the Prince set himself in pursuit at the head of 5000 horse. Whereupon the Scots, who led the way, were called back in all haste, and the English formed up to check Rupert and receive the charge. The Prince's infantry could not get forward so quickly: so that it was 2 o'clock in the afternoon when both armies formed in battalia. Between them lay a deep and wide ditch, which kept them both at bay for an hour or two. The King's forces consisted of 14,000 foot, 9,000 horse, and about 25 pieces of ordnance. The Parliament's army did not exceed the same number. The Prince stood on the right, and Sir Charles Lucas, having Goring and Harvey under him, on the left. Manchester and Cromwell being opposed to the former, and Leven to the latter. The Lord Fairfax stood in the centre of the Parliament's army. The action commenced between six and seven o'clock in the evening. There is some confusion in the accounts as to the flanks on which each commanded: but the

scheme of the fight appears to have been this,—that Lucas with Goring totally routed Leven and Fairfax, who were both driven out of the field, and came not back again to their army for the space of two days. Prince Rupert, on the other hand, gave way to his assailants, but returned to the field; when Cromwell, who had already learnt by experience the advantage of a good reserve, renewed the fight with such impetuosity and resolution, that at length the Cavaliers gave way, and the infantry, that stood at their side, were borne down and put to flight. It does not appear that Newcastle was in any high command; but his regiment of foot, who, from their white woollen dress, were called "Newcastle's White Coats," fell without abandoning the ranks in which they were drawn up; and, "though they stood like a wall, they were mowed down like a meadow." Night put an end to the mutual slaughter. Lucas made a bold attempt to recover the day, and attacked the Parliamentarian horse furiously; but, after a faint success, he also encountered Cromwell, who had returned to the field from the pursuit of Rupert. The two opposing wings came face to face with their front counterchanged; and the fight was renewed, and maintained on both sides with great vigour. But Sir Charles Lucas, and General Porter, with a hundred other officers, became prisoners; and the victory decisively turned to the side of the Parliament. The Prince's train of artillery was all taken, and the whole of his army was fairly pushed off the field of battle. 1644.

Rupert marches towards Chester: the Marquis of Newcastle quits the kingdom in displeasure, July.

Many leaders as successful as Prince Rupert had been hitherto, have sustained defeat: but the resolution he put in practice the next day,—of retiring with his whole army,—is characteristic of the infirmity of purpose that marked his military career. He might have still defended York, in obedience to the King's letter; but, without a thought for the importance of the possession, or caring for its value in his Royal Fair-

1644. uncle's interest, the Prince marched away all his forces towards Chester. He sent the Marquis a short notice of his intention; and by the return of the messenger received intimation that Newcastle was about instantly to quit the kingdom. Both put their resolutions into practice; and, accompanied by his two sons and brother, the Marquis of Newcastle took shipping at Scarborough, and transported themselves to Hamburgh, where they arrived on the 8th July; and the Marquis did not return again to England until after the Restoration[7].

Fax fixes his head-quarters at York.

It is strange and unexampled that two Generals of renown, of whom one had still a sufficient army left entire, and the other had the absolute commission over all the northern counties, should quit York, a city of so much importance to the King, and leave the whole surrounding district at the mercy of the enemy. Fairfax and Cromwell had both been badly hurt in the action, and had lost many men; nevertheless they now held the north of England firmly against the King. Fairfax fixed his head-quarters at York on the 15th, after granting terms to Sir Thomas Glenham, the Royalist Governor. The Earl of Leven marched northward again with the Scots army, and the Earl of Manchester returned to his post in the Associated Counties.

Character of the Marquis of Newcastle.

[7] We cannot, however, part with the Marquis of Newcastle without a few words respecting a warrior who had been a very valuable Commander in the cause of the Crown. Clarendon says of him, "He had a particular reverence for the person of the King, as he had been his governor when Prince of Wales. When Charles the First, in the first year of his reign, went to be crowned in Scotland, he was received on his road by the great noblemen whose seats lay in the way, and by none with greater splendour and feasting than by the Earl of Newcastle, at his own proper expense. No sooner did the King's affairs require assistance than this noble Lord obeyed at the first call with all alacrity, and entirely without any charge to His Majesty. When placed at the head of an army he liked the pomp and absolute authority of a General well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full, and abounded in every act of courtesy, affability, bounty, and

Towards the end of October, 1644, we find Prince Rupert waiting upon the King at Oxford just before 1644.

Second battle of Newbury, 2nd Nov.: excesses of Rupert's troops: he urges the King to march to the North.

generosity, in the discharge of all the outward state and circumstances of a general. But he was utterly unacquainted with any experience of war, and did not relish the privations and fatigue of military command. To supply this natural indisposition, he engaged a Scotchman of the name of King to be Lieutenant-General under him, one who had been brought up and served under the great Gustavus Adolphus. In every action of the field, however, Newcastle was present: for he would never absent himself for a single moment from the dangers of battle, in which he always gave instances of invincible courage and fearlessness; such indeed as often changed the fortune of a day, for all soldiers are attached to officers who notoriously expose their persons. But as soon as the excitement of action was over, he retired to the charms of music and delightful company, and the softer pleasures; nor would he permit himself to be interrupted in his hours of ease by business, but resolutely denied admission to the chiefest officers of his army." Hume says, "The Marquis of Newcastle, the ornament of the Court and of his order, was engaged contrary to the natural bent of his disposition in military operations, from a high sense of honour and a personal regard to his master. The dangers of war were disregarded by his valour, but its fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expense; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation often stole him from his rougher occupations—the persons in whom he placed confidence were more the instruments of his refined pleasures than qualified for the business they undertook; and the severity and application requisite to the support of discipline were qualities in which he was entirely wanting." The damage sustained by Newcastle by his fidelity to the cause of the King was estimated to have reached 733,500*l*. He now went to live abroad in great necessity; and disdained by submission or composition to show the slightest obeisance to the usurped authority of the Protector, any more than to the Parliament. Nay, he saw even with indifference that his great estates were sequestered by those who had obtained the upper hand in England. The least favourable censors of Newcastle's merit allow that the fidelity, generosity, and services of a whole life sufficiently atoned for the one rash action of deserting the cause, into which the provocations to which he had been exposed now betrayed him.

1644. the second fight at Newbury, at which, on the 2nd November, in concert with the Earl of Northampton, he was in command of 5000 horse. Here ended the campaign of 1644, which did not, on the whole, conclude so fatally to the King as might have been apprehended from the loss of York and all the North, through the rashness of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor. Nothing is recorded of His Highness during the winter of 1644, but that he united with the licentious Goring and Gerrard, and with Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, and Sir Richard Granville, in indulging the troops in unwarrantable licence, partly through want of pay, and partly out of a desire to gain favour with the soldiery. The country people, finding themselves despoiled, flocked together with clubs and staves, and, professing an enmity to the soldiery of both parties, directed their hatred chiefly against the Royalists, from whom they had met with the worst treatment. As the season advanced for action, Prince Rupert is said to have advised the King to march into the North of England, while the rest of his council were for marching into the West; His Highness being of opinion that they might fall upon the Scots in Yorkshire before Fairfax could be able to perfect his new model in proper condition to take the field. The purpose of marching northward was the more hastened, because in the way north Chester might be relieved, which was now closely besieged by Sir William Brereton. Accordingly, on the 7th May, the Royalist army broke up from Oxford, and took the field: but on reaching Drayton they heard from Sir Thomas Byron that the Parliamentary army had raised the siege, and withdrawn themselves from the county Palatine.

1645. Fairfax threatens Oxford: Rupert invests Leicester,

The Parliament, having embodied a considerable army under the new model, resolved to besiege the King in Oxford; which was partly the reason why the King marched out of that city to relieve Chester. But as soon as His Majesty learnt that the rebels were

drawn off from the northern counties, he set his army in march northward, when intelligence reached him that Fairfax had sat down before Oxford. This induced the King to call a halt, and take fresh counsel. But there was no reason to apprehend any unfavourable issue, for Oxford was known to be in a very good condition to defend itself. However it was always in the genius of Prince Rupert to propose a dashing enterprise; and accordingly he suggested that the best way to draw off Fairfax from Oxford would be to fall upon some place possessed by the Parliament; and they had no town so considerable within easy reach as Leicester; so it was determined to assault it, although it possessed a good garrison, and was under the government of Sir Robert Pye. The proposition having been accepted, the Prince ordered Sir Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround the town with his horse; and the next day, being the 31st May, the whole army invested the place, which was of great extent. Rupert now reconnoitred the defences, and ordered a battery to be raised and armed, which played upon an old high stone wall on the south side: but before it was ready to open he sent in a summons to the governor, whose answer was not favourable. In the space of four hours a breach was effected, which was declared practicable; and an assault upon the entire circuit was ordered for the same night. The breach where the attack was expected was defended with great courage and resolution, and the Royalists were twice repulsed at it. But in the interim Colonel Page entered the town on the other side, and being supported by a body of horse that arrived opportunely from Newark, all the King's army entered within the lines, and the Governor and 1200 men became prisoners of war. Although the place was well and speedily obtained, yet the King's loss in the assault was considerable; there being 200 dead, including many officers; and many more wounded. The customary licence of rapine and murder, which accompanies all

1645.

31st May: fall of the place: Fairfax marches to encounter the Royalists.

1645. such operations, ensued, greatly to the grief of the King, who knew how many of his most attached friends within Leicester would be included in such sufferings. But much booty was obtained, and the town was a post of such importance, that, on hearing of its fall, the Parliament ordered Fairfax to raise the siege of Oxford, and march towards the King, which he did on the 7th June. The King does not seem to have received early intimation of this; and as his son the Duke of York was left behind in Oxford, he resolved to march back thither from Leicester. The consequence was, that the opposing armies came in sight. About the same time Prince Rupert was at Harborough with the horse, when Fairfax with his army had reached Northampton. The resolution was taken immediately to fight the enemy, —for which course there was always an intense desire in the Royal army, as the best expedient where the science of war was but little known.

Battle of Naseby, 14th June.

It was Saturday the 14th June, when the Royal army was drawn up upon an advantageous rising ground at about a mile in front of Harborough. The right wing, of about 2000 horse, was commanded by Prince Rupert; the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The main body of the foot was under the King himself, who was opposed by Fairfax with Skippon as Lieutenant-General; Cromwell being in command of the Parliamentary right, opposite Langdale; and Ireton on the left, opposite Rupert. Reserves were on this occasion told off by Fairfax, and placed under Colonels Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride, which, as will be seen, had very considerable influence upon the fortune of the day. As no enemy appeared about eight in the morning, Prince Rupert went forward himself with a party of horse and musketeers to reconnoitre, and had not marched above a mile when he encountered the van; but so indistinctly, that he thought that Fairfax was falling back; and he accordingly sent word to the King that the troops should march up to him; which

accordingly quitted their vantage-ground and the order of their formation, and a general advance was made towards the enemy, who, on perceiving this, forthwith halted, and took up some high ground near Naseby. The natural heat and impatience of Prince Rupert could never endure the enemy long in view, nor allow him to believe, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of experience, that they would stand a charge. As soon, therefore, as he got up his horse, and before the cannon had come up, or even the ground on which the army was to be posted determined on (about ten o'clock A.M.), the charge was made with his usual rapidity and success by Prince Rupert, who was so well seconded that he bore down all before him, and made himself master of six pieces of the rebel cannon. Ireton made stout resistance, but was run through the thigh with a pike, and taken prisoner; whereupon all his men fled, and were pursued almost to Naseby town. Lord Astley, commanding the foot, advanced against the hill on which the Parliamentarians were posted, in despite of a fire of cannon and musketry, which happily did little mischief; and his men, coming up to within carbine distance, poured in a volley, and, according to their usual custom, fell on with their swords or the butt-ends of their muskets, and did terrible execution, putting the enemy into great disorder and confusion. Fairfax and Skippon encountered them; and the latter received a dangerous wound, but would not quit the field: but the infantry of the Parliament was broken and pressed upon by that of the King. The right wing of the Royalists, both horse and foot, being thus successfully engaged, the left wing, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, advancing with equal resolution, were encountered by Cromwell. But in this quarter the King's horse had the hill against them, as well as the preponderance of numbers; and, being blown and out-flanked, gave way and took to flight, and were pursued for about a quarter of a mile, but no further, for Cromwell speedily returned to the field, where he was much wanted, for seeing the

1645.

1645. — disorder of the infantry, his presence was needed to the assistance of Fairfax and Skippon. But Prince Rupert was not yet returned from his wild-goose chase, and the King had no reserve of horse, excepting his own guards, to oppose Cromwell. But His Highness had lingered on his way in an endeavour to make himself master of the Parliamentary artillery, which he had summoned to yield; but, as they happened to be well defended by a rear-guard armed with fire-locks, Rupert, having no foot with him, failed in the execution of that design. And it was in this state of things that the Prince returned with his victorious Cavaliers. As usual, the Prince's conceited Cavaliers thought that they had fully acted their part in the battle, and they stood deaf to the King's appeal to them to make a second charge. Charles earnestly exhorted them with unwonted ardour to make one charge more, and retrieve the day; but Clarendon here remarks "the difference between the King's troops and those under Fairfax and Cromwell was henceforth very clearly perceptible, that the discipline of the latter was very superior, since the King's troops, after some success, could never be prevailed upon to rally, nor could they be brought to make a second charge the same day; whereas the Parliament forces, whether they prevailed or were beaten, stood again in their order to receive any fresh command. This difference had not been observed in the armies of Essex and Waller[s]." Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell had by this time speedily re-formed their troops, without losing their time in pursuing any advantage they might have obtained; and doubtless the Cavaliers saw pretty clearly

[s] Elliot Warburton gives the following letter under the date 1642, from one Captain McNeil to Prince Rupert:—"The officers of your Highness's troop will obey in no kind of thing, and by their example never a soldier in the company. For my own part, unless your Highness declare your pleasure, I had rather be a groom at Oxford, than with a company that thus assume such freedom as yours does here."

that they who now faced them were fully prepared to receive or to give the charge. All that the King or Prince could do to rally these broken troops was now ineffectual; and His Majesty was compelled to quit the field and to leave Fairfax master of all his cannon and baggage, which latter contained his cabinet and most secret papers, of which a very unmanly and barbarous use was made. The King and Prince, with all the soldiers of both arms they could collect, marched through Leicester in the night to Ashby de la Zouch; whence they doubled back to Lichfield, and so by way of Beverley, where they crossed the Severn to Hereford. 1645.

The King's answer to Rupert's recommendation to offer terms of accommodation to the Parliament, 3rd Aug.

Here it was agreed upon that, whatever the King should do next, Prince Rupert should proceed to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, who there was every reason to apprehend might, in a short time, advance upon it. Rupert found that, owing to the sickness that had infested this city, the Prince of Wales, whom he had expected to meet there, had quitted it a few days previously, to place himself under the protection of Sir Alan Apsley at Barnstaple. Accordingly Prince Rupert followed him to that town to give him an account of the ill posture of the King's affairs; and he took advantage of being thus far on the road to pursue his journey to confer with the Lord Goring, who now commanded in the West as one of the Prince of Wales's council. The upshot of this conference was to induce Prince Rupert to write his advice to the King to renew an offer of peace to the Parliament, which produced a reply under the King's own hand, which is given by Clarendon; and one or two extracts from it will serve to show the terms on which, up to this time, the uncle and nephew stood:—

"I assure you I have been, and ever will be, careful to advertise you of my resolutions as soon as they were undertaken; and if I enjoined silence to that

1645. which was no secret, it was not my fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of my business and your counsel thereupon, if I had any quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice.

* * * * * *

Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, plainly told you my resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken now after treaties; assuring you that low as I am, I will do no more than was offered in my name at Uxbridge.

* * * * * * *

Lastly, be confident I would not have put you nor myself to the trouble of this long letter, had I not a great estimation for you, and a full confidence of your friendship too. C. R."

Rupert undertakes to defend Bristol, 12th Aug.

In reply to this letter, which is dated the 3rd August, Prince Rupert wrote on the 12th of the same month, assuring His Majesty in a very cheerful and deferential letter, that he would undertake to defend Bristol for four months; and soliciting that the army of the West should all advance to the relief of Bristol within six months, during which period he thought he was sufficiently provided with necessaries to endure even a blockade.

Fairfax lays siege to Bristol, 23rd Aug. Rupert surrenders the city, 10th Sept.

Fairfax, after the battle of Naseby, took Leicester by capitulation, and thence pursued his march towards Bristol, before which city he sat down on the 23rd August. The King had succeeded in making the Scots desist from the siege of Hereford, and had established himself in the Marquis of Worcester's Castle at Raglan, where he energetically employed himself in devising means for collecting all the troops he could get together for the relief of Bristol. It

was expected by all men that Prince Rupert, with his great reputation as a Commander, would perform wonders in the defence of that city. The beginning of September was already regarded as late in the season for such a siege; and there was reasonable hope that the besiegers' army might be ruined before the town could be taken. The garrison under the Prince is said to have consisted of 900 horse, 2500 foot, and 1500 auxiliaries. Military courage, however, is composed of much higher qualities than mere animal bravery; and stubborn resolution is a very different thing from galloping *ventre-à-terre* across country or against an enemy in the field. The precariousness of these attributes was never more signally displayed than in the case of Prince Rupert as Governor of Bristol. He had not the spirit or the skill to sustain a siege; he knew little or nothing of the art of defending a fortification: all his antecedents had been a display of bravery in attack; and this was quite exhausted after he had made a few sallies. The two or three that he ordered had been readily repulsed, and the besiegers had begun to erect their lines, although they had not invested the city, when, upon the very first summons, he agreed to capitulate; and on the 10th September the place was surrendered to Fairfax. 1645.

This blow completely prostrated the poor King, who received the notice of it at Raglan on the 11th; and so little was His Majesty prepared to expect such an occurrence that, if the evidence of it had not been unquestionable, he would not have believed it. Full of indignation, he had no sooner retired to Hereford than he wrote to Prince Rupert the following letter:— The King's letter of indignant censure to Rupert, 14th Sept.

"Hereford, September 14, 1645.

"NEPHEW,—Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only to forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise

1645. the greatest trial of my constancy that has yet befallen me: for what is to be done, after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such—I have so much to say that I will say no more of it, only, lest rashness of judgment is laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th August, whereby you assured me, that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months—Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? Those questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, some where beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

"Your loving uncle and faithful friend, C. R."

The King revokes all Rupert's commissions, and retires to Newark, whither Rupert and his brother Maurice follow him.

With this letter the King sent Prince Rupert a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to His Highness, and at the same time he signified his pleasure to the Lords of his Council at Oxford, whither he heard that the Prince had retired with his garrison, that they should require the surrender of all these commissions. Rupert submitted to the King's pleasure without a word of hesitation, and yielded up his commissions, but resolved not to make use of his pass to quit the kingdom till he had speech with His Majesty. He could not, however, obtain any information where he might meet with his uncle, and therefore he repaired to Worcester, of which city his brother Prince Maurice was Governor. It was only in October that the two brothers heard that the King had withdrawn to Newark, where they resolved to carry

away the garrison and whatever other detachments they might be able to collect, and to march across the country to join their Royal uncle, "who, like a hunted partridge," had flitted from one post to another until he had found safety within the protection of a walled town. With a retinue of 120 officers and a few soldiers, the brothers, Rupert and Maurice, set off in hopes to reach Belvoir Castle on the 15th; but at Walton, within two miles of that castle, the party was intercepted by Colonel Rossiter at the head of some Parliamentarian horse, who dispersed it, and drove it before them, slaying or capturing above 100 persons; so that not above a dozen, including the Princes, got safe within the castle. As soon as Charles heard of this adventure, he wrote a letter commanding the whole party to remain where they were till further orders, and reprehending Prince Rupert for not having yielded obedience to his former requirements. Nevertheless the whole of the party repaired next day to Newark, and were met within two miles of the town by the Lord Gerard, and by Sir Richard Willis, the Governor of the garrison, with an escort of 100 horse. 1645.

Interview of Rupert with his uncle: result of it.

When they arrived at the Court they found the King in the presence. As soon as they were introduced, Prince Rupert told His Majesty that he was come to render him an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him. Charles said very little: and supper being served, they went to the table; during which repast he asked some questions of Prince Maurice, without saying one word to Prince Rupert. After the King had supped he withdrew to his chamber, without admitting of further discourse; and Prince Rupert repaired to the Governor's house, where he was well lodged and respectfully treated. The next day Charles expressed his pleasure to hear what his nephew would say in his defence. His Highness,

1645. with many protestations of his innocence, declared that he had found it utterly impossible to defend the works after the place was fully invested, and after the line of forts was entered. His Majesty had no mind, in the depth of the misfortunes that now encompassed him, to aggravate any of the circumstances that had accompanied that action, and therefore commanded a short declaration to be drawn up, by which the Prince was absolved and cleared from any accusation of disloyalty or treason in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. And so the matter was settled.

Commotion caused by the King's appointing Lord Bellasis Governor of Newark, and displacing Sir R. Willis.

But the unhappy Charles had yet to undergo a parting mortification from his intemperate nephew, which indeed he endured with exceeding trouble and vexation. The differences that existed between Sir Richard Willis, the Governor, and the Commissioners (who were all the principal gentlemen of the surrounding country) had arisen to such a height, that the King saw that there was no possibility of preserving the garrison but by the removal of the Governor; and he accordingly resolved on that expedient. On the Sunday morning, the 20th October, before church, the King sent for Sir Richard into his bed-chamber, and after many gracious expressions of the satisfaction he had received in his service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him, told him that he was about to quit Newark, and had resolved to name him as captain of his horse guards in the place of the Earl of Lichfield, who had been killed before Chester, and that he proposed to leave Lord Bellasis Governor of Newark. Sir Richard Willis appeared to be much troubled, and said that his enemies would triumph at his removal, and that he should be looked upon as cast out and disgraced. The King replied that no man could be looked upon as disgraced who was promoted to a place so near the person of the Sovereign. So His Majesty went out of his chamber, and presently to the church. When he

returned from thence he sat down to dinner; but before His Majesty had dined Sir Richard Willis, with both the Princes, the Lord Gerard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered the presence chamber, when the Governor addressed the King, saying that what His Majesty had said to him in private was now the public talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour. Prince Rupert then said that Sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his Government for no other fault than that he was his friend. Lord Gerard added, that it was all a plot of Lord Digby's, who was a traitor,—as he could prove. The King was so surprised with this manner of behaviour that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bed-chamber, calling on Sir Richard to follow him, who answered aloud,—that he had received a public injury, and therefore expected a public satisfaction. This, with what had passed before, so provoked His Majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded all to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it. And so they departed out of the room. His Majesty presently caused it to be declared that Lord Bellasis was Governor of Newark, who immediately betook himself to the charge, and placed guards as he thought most reasonable. Accordingly the same afternoon a petition and remonstrance was brought to the King, signed by the two Princes and about twenty-four officers, in which they desired that Sir Richard Willis might receive a trial by a Court of War, and if found guilty then to be dismissed from his charge: and that, if this might not be conceded, then passes might be granted for themselves and for as many horse as desired to go with them. They added that they hoped His Majesty would not look upon this action as a mutiny; to this Charles replied, he would not now christen it, but that it looked very like one. As for the Court of War, he would not

1645, —

1645. make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired them. The next morning the passes were sent; and the same afternoon Prince Rupert and all the malcontents—in all about 200 horse—proceeded to Belvoir Castle, from whence they sent one of their number to desire leave and passes from the Parliament to go beyond the seas: which was not, however, immediately granted to the Princes. The good-natured uncle, notwithstanding all this, thought of them kindly in his treaty with the Scots, in which it was stipulated "that the two Princes might follow the King, and might stay with His Majesty until the Parliament of England should demand them."

1646. What became of Rupert in the interval between the 7th November, 1645, and the 27th April, 1646, does not appear; but he seems to have gone to Oxford after the King had quitted it at the latter date, and was obliged to disband with all the Royalists that were left in that city by command of the dominant party. In the beginning of May, however, they sent from Oxford to Fairfax to desire a pass to any of the Parliament quarters until its pleasure should be known concerning them. This was probably conceded; but nevertheless, on the 27th of the following month, the Parliament take notice that the Princes had broken the articles agreed upon at Oxford concerning them, and they are therefore desired to transport themselves beyond seas within ten days. The consequence of this was an humble submission, and on the 9th July they took shipping and passed across the water to France.

The Parliament orders Rupert and his brother to quit the kingdom: they take ship for France, 9th July.

1648. In the month of May, 1648, we find Prince Rupert at Paris, with the Prince of Wales and the Queen Mother; when news arrived that a good part of the Royal Navy, under Captain Battens, formerly Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, had revolted from the Parliamentary Admiral Gainsborough, and had quitted the Downs. As soon as this was known, the

Part of the fleet revolts from the Parliament, and places itself under the command

Prince of Wales, with Prince Rupert, Lords Hopton and Colepepper, and some others in attendance upon the Princes, quitted Paris, and repaired to Calais. Here the news came that the revolted fleet was gone to Helvoetslys. It appeared that King Charles, when he made the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of his fleet, had inserted a clause in the commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the Duke of York." This young Prince had contrived to escape to Holland; and when the fleet had notice that he was there, the seamen declared loudly "they would go to their admiral." Accordingly the fleet stood out to sea, and let fall their anchors before the Brill. The Duke of York immediately went on board, where he was joined from Calais by his brother the Prince of Wales, and Prince Rupert, and all their party. The fleet, with all alacrity and cheerfulness, submitted to the Prince of Wales, and thus put an end to all sorts of factions and divisions which Lord Willoughby of Parham, Sir John Berkley, and others, had already excited. The Duke of York, who was only just fifteen years of age, was accordingly sent off to the Hague; and the Prince of Wales set sail first for Yarmouth Roads, and then for the Downs. He declared the Lord Willoughby his Vice-Admiral; and, after knighting Captain Batten, His Royal Highness made him Rear-Admiral of the fleet. Prince Rupert, from his love of adventure and enterprise, soon made himself acceptable with the seamen, who would have gladly followed him in attempting somewhat upon the coast. But the Prince of Wales had been enjoined to be entirely advised by the Lord Colepepper, who deemed it most advisable that the fleet should sail about the coast, to let the kingdom generally know that His Royal Highness was there.

1648. of the Duke of York, May.

At length the fleet entered the Thames, and intercepted many vessels homeward bound, especially one laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers. The city of London was greatly alarmed at

The fleet enters the Thames, under the Prince of

1648. — Wales: consternation of the London merchants: redemption of "the Cloth Ship."

the interruption given to their commerce by the Prince of Wales and the fleet, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, but more particularly the Cloth Ship, about which there was considerable mystery. A committee was accordingly sent from the city with a petition to His Royal Highness "That he would restore this ship, which belonged to his father's subjects." The citizens, however, found that they could not have the ship released without the payment of a good sum of money, for that this "was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen." But the Prince added, "that what he might receive for it should be regarded as a loan, to be repaid when a peace should be made." At length about 12,000*l.* was paid, and the Cloth Ship was delivered to the merchants. No search was suffered to be made as to its cargo; but it was said, "that there was something else besides cloth in the body of it."

The Royal fleet declines battle with the Earl of Warwick, who pursues it to the coast of Holland.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better ships than the one which had revolted, and the command thereof was given to the Earl of Warwick. This was brought down by the tide within sight of the Royal fleet, where it dropped anchor. There was all alacrity in the Prince's fleet to bring on a battle; and Warwick's ships, though notoriously ill-manned and unprepared, showed a good front and resolution enough for an engagement. The Prince on his side ordered the anchors to be raised; and preparations were instantly made for the attack, the whole fleet being put under sail. But the wind dropped, and when it rose again blew directly in their teeth. Time was thus afforded for better counsel. Great want of provision was apprehended for the fleet, as there was not enough on board to keep the sea for ten days. So the whole took their course back to Holland, and was followed by Warwick, who reached Helvoet within a few days of the Prince's arrival there.

Disgraceful brawl in the Prince's

The Prince of Wales was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them at their charge; His Royal Highness every night lodging in

the Palace of the Prince of Orange, where he and his brother, the Duke of York, had very good apartments, while a public table was kept for the resort of such officers and noble persons as repaired thither. The fleet, however, was very much impaired by the factions and divisions that prevailed in the little Court. Prince Rupert, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, on account of many old contests in the late war, love the Lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper to care to court him: while Herbert, the Attorney-General, had great influence over Rupert, and "was of all men living the most disposed to make discord and disagreements among men." Rupert and Herbert therefore took one side, and Colepepper and Clarendon the other, with Sir Robert Long, the Prince's Secretary; and these composed His Royal Highness's Council. An unimportant dispute about one Sir Robert Walsh, brought matters to such an issue, that Prince Rupert and Lord Colepepper were on the point of fighting a duel; but, through the intervention of the Prince and Clarendon, Lord Colepepper shook hands with the Prince. But the Attorney-General, having been informed of all that had happened at the Council, stirred up Walsh to strike Colepepper in the face with his fist, and to draw his sword on him. This so angered the Prince of Wales, that he required the States to do justice on Sir Robert Walsh, who was banished from the Hague. So ruffianly a transgression, and the scandal of the whole affair, exposed the Prince's Council to much disadvantage and loss of reverence. 1644. Council at the Hague.

At the approach of the equinox, Lord Warwick carried back the Parliamentary fleet to the Downs, after having taken no other hostile act than to summon Lord Willoughby, the Vice-Admiral of the Royal fleet, to surrender it. But the common men of both fleets continually met on shore, and thus a very mutinous spirit was infused into the minds of the Royal seamen. This unsteady humour was aggra- Mutinous temper of the Royal seamen: difficulty with respect to the fleet.

1644. vated by the difficulty of making any regular provision to pay and victual the fleet. But these difficulties, which perplexed the Prince of Wales's Council, were increased by this, "What should be done with the fleet, and who should command it?" For it had become evident that the States wished it to begone out of the ports of the United Provinces.

Rupert is appointed Commander of the fleet.

It had been long evident that Prince Rupert had an ardent desire to have the command of the fleet put into his hands. Lord Willoughby, the Vice-Admiral, only retained the command out of duty to the King; but he liked neither the charge of the fleet nor the people who served under him. Sir William Batten, the Rear-Admiral, was weary of his post, because the seamen had contracted an implacable jealousy and enmity against him. The Duke of York was convinced with much ado that it was neither safe for His Highness, nor for his father's service, that he should be embarked in the government of the fleet. Many intrigues had been on foot to tamper with the inclinations of the seamen; and, to increase their prejudices against Batten: the Attorney-General Herbert opened to Clarendon that he thought Prince Rupert might be induced to accept the charge, out of zeal to the King's service. But the prudent Chancellor made no other answer to him than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard, and that he did not think any one would propose the charge to His Highness, nor that the Prince of Wales would command him to undertake the charge." At length Prince Rupert made the direct proposition to the Council to assume the command, and that he would carry it wheresover the Prince of Wales should be pleased to direct. And then the whole matter being debated, it was resolved that Prince Rupert should be constituted Admiral of the Fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. His Highness rendered the expedition at once more hopeful by engaging several good officers to serve under him,—Sir

Thomas Kettleby, Sir John Mennes, Colonel Richard Fielding, all worthy and faithful men, who had long experience of the sea service, and were well known and loved by the seamen. With these, and others who were willing to spend their time in this service, Prince Rupert repaired to Helvoetsluys, where the ships lay, and was received by their crews with great apparent joy. 1644.

A strict survey of the condition of the ships was forthwith undertaken, and such as were not seaworthy were broken up and sold for money for the victualling. But, while thus preparing to sail, two or three mutinies had to be suppressed, in one of which Prince Rupert, with notable vigour, threw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms. There continued to be much murmuring among the men. But the undaunted bearing of the Prince whenever he came in sight of any vessels supposed to be those of the enemy reconciled the men to their service under the conduct of so brave a commander. As soon as he came up with the enemy's ships he steered directly into the midst of them; and they, surprised at this boldness, dispersed themselves always with great quickness. The fleet set sail for Ireland the 21st January, 1649, and, passing out of the Downs and by Dover, sailed down the Channel to Jersey, where the Prince communicated with Sir George Carteret, and so on to the Scilly Islands, where Sir John Grenville still commanded for the King. They met with many good prizes in the course; and in this way Rupert finally rendezvoused his fleet of thirteen ships in the desired harbour of Kinsale, in February, 1649. His Highness at once surprised and carried the fort of Kinsale for the security of the fleet. Here the Prince first heard of the King's death. Rupert endeavoured to act in some concurrence with the Lord Deputy and the Royalists in Ireland; but the state of affairs having rendered this impossible, he commenced a predatory war against the English trade in the Irish Channel, which induced the Parliament, after the King's death, 1649. Rupert puts his fleet in order, and steers for Kinsale, where he is blockaded by Blake, but effects his escape, 24th Oct., and makes for the coast of Spain, and thence for the mouth of the Tagus, where he is well received by the Portuguese Court.

1649. to send a fleet under Blake, Deane, and Popham, which blockaded the Royalist fleet in Kinsale harbour, until it was pressed for want of provisions, and threatened with an attack likewise by land. Having thus spent a wearisome summer in anxiety and troubles, Prince Rupert, who was now joined by Prince Maurice, resolved on the 24th October to make a bold push to get away from Kinsale harbour: thus it was that, while a strong north-east wind blew so hard upon the coast as to oblige his enemies to fly to sea, they made the desperate effort, aided by the freshness of the gale, to disperse themselves, and make for the Bay of Biscay. They succeeded, and obtained a harbour on the coast of Spain with the loss of three out of the squadron. Here the Prince sent a letter addressed to Sir Edward Hyde, then at Madrid with Lord Cottington, upon an embassy to the Spanish Court. The officer on shore carried the letter to the Prime Minister, in which the Prince wrote, "that he had brought away all the Royal fleet from Ireland, and that he had received an assurance from Portugal that he should be very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved to go to Lisbon, but desired Hyde to procure orders from the Court that he might find a good reception in all the ports of Spain, if his occasions brought him thither." All that the Ambassadors asked was granted without hesitation. The Prince then stood in for the road of Cascaes, where His Highness received an embassy from the King of Portugal to invite him to the palace; and as they entered the Tagus the ships were saluted as they sailed along by the fire of the forts. Being thus assured of the security of his fleet, the Prince commanded them to anchor, and here they continued for some time careening, and victualling their ships and prizes.

1650. Rupert's fleet is pursued by Blake, and

"But the ascendancy of these benign stars was very short." Within a few days they received intelligence that the fleet of the Parliament was at hand having an ambassador on board, authorized to demand

the persons of the Princes, and the delivery of the ships into their hands, on pain of war being denounced against the kingdom of Portugal. Blake effectively anchored in the Bay of Cascaes on the 10th March. On the 11th the Admiral led in to the Tagus, but was brought to by the fire of the Castles of St. Julien's and Belem, when he anchored equidistant from both Castles, in the midst of the river. Blake's fleet consisted of five ships of forty or fifty guns each, and six frigates of thirty and upwards; so that they carried a floating battery of 450 guns. To oppose this, Rupert had four ships of forty or fifty guns each, and five or six smaller vessels, comprising in the whole 360 guns. After some negotiations Blake was permitted on the 18th to come opposite the town, on an undertaking not to exercise any act of hostility against Rupert. The young Prince of Portugal repaired himself on board the Royalist flag-ship, and assured the Princes of the safety of their persons.

1650. — is blockaded in the Tagus, whence the Prince effects his escape, 29th Sept.

After many months' stay in the Tagus—for the Parliament fleet had not only a near equality of force with the Royal squadron, but were under daily expectations of the arrival of a French fleet, who might back them,—it became at length necessary for Prince Rupert to get away from the durance in which he found himself; but all his friend the Portuguese Prince could do for him in the teeth of the Council of the Queen his mother (who were not willing to expose their country to the danger of breaking with the Parliament of England) was to supply the Royal fleet with all it stood in need of, and to promise that, if he chose to make a start, Blake should not be permitted to follow him out of the Tagus for two tides. The Prince Royal personally desired His Highness to put to sea, and to endeavour the rescue of his fleet. Accordingly, on the 29th September, 1650, the Royal fleet, with ten days' provisions on board, set sail in such a gale of wind as it was thought no man in his senses would go

1650. to sea in; and thus they were enabled to get out of the harbour and to reach Malaga, capturing and plundering many merchant vessels *en route*. The fleet lay before the road; but in the morning it was saluted by the Spanish Admiral's ships and the forts; but when the Prince sent an officer on shore he found that orders had been sent to all the ports to forbid him access. He accordingly returned the salutes, and since he could find no protection in these territories he resolved "to plough the sea for a subsistence; and, being destitute of a port, to take the confines of the Mediterranean Sea for their harbour: poverty and despair being their companions, and revenge their guide."

Rupert, pursued by Blake, escapes to Carthagena, and thence proceeds to Madrid, where he is well received by the Spanish Court, Nov. He then rejoins his brother Maurice. at Toulon.

On the 5th November they rounded Cape Palos, and thereabouts in a storm the fleet got dispersed by stress of weather, and the two Princes likewise. Prince Rupert got into Carthagena, where the Parliamentary fleet found him. On this there was no help for it but to run their ships ashore or fire them; and Rupert, getting safe to shore, escaped to Madrid, where His Highness was kindly received by the Spanish Court. Prince Maurice, with the rest of his fleet, endeavoured to make for Sicily; but stress of weather obliged him to bear up for Toulon, where he was detained some days, and where Prince Rupert was enabled to rejoin him.

1651. Mutinous conduct of the seamen of Rupert's squadron: his narrow escape in a tempest.

The Duc de Vendôme, then Admiral of the port, permitted the Princes to careen their ships, and to obtain such stores as were necessary for the provisioning of the fleet, which was now reduced to five ships. As soon as all was ready these stood out to sea, and, running along the coast of Barbary, got through the Straits, and stood for the Island of Madeira. Prince Rupert now resolved, as the best means for their own security, to take his course for the West Indies, where he thought that the commerce of England would ensure them a living: but discontent had now been raised among his follo vers, so that as soon as he reached the

Canary Islands with this concealed design, he found it necessary to call a Council of War, and to declare his intentions. His proposal to sail to the Cape de Verde Islands to re-victual was negatived; and he was therefore constrained to accept the proposition for the Azores; and thither they steered forthwith. But when they reached Terceira the factions had attained to such a height, that the only alternative appeared to be to go to sea. Here in a storm that overtook them the pinnace in which Prince Rupert sailed was forced by the violence of a tempest from his ship, and he was cast adrift. The mutineers upon this accident resolved to get rid of him, and in an endeavour to do this one of the vessels was wrecked, with 333 men on board; and after this disaster Rupert was released, and by Prince Maurice's exertions was received on board his own ship again. This occurred in 1651. 1651.

Rupert's subsequent marauding career: his brother Maurice lost at sea.

It would be idle and unprofitable to follow the further course of Prince Rupert; and it is sad to have to report of so great a warrior, that he now descended to become a mere buccaneer, living upon the commerce of every nation. It is probable that the information of such an enterprise was slow in those days in reaching England, otherwise it might have been expected that they would have sent forth a squadron to look after these pirates, and protect their colonies and commerce, which were now systematically laid under tribute to the Prince's little fleet. The years 1649—53 were thus passed upon the ocean and in the islands of the Atlantic. The coasts of Africa and the Caribbean Sea were successively visited without encountering a hostile ship of England. But sometime in 1652, in a storm off the Virgin islands, "The Honest Seaman," on board of which was the Prince Maurice, was wrecked in a hurricane, to the great concern of all his comrades, and the inexpressible grief of his brother Rupert.

Rupert arrives at Nantes.

At length, from one cause or another, it became prudent to conclude this course of life, which may have

1653. — and is invited by Louis XIV. to Paris, where he meets Charles II., then in exile.

been partly owing to the death of his brother, and partly to the difficulty of keeping his crews together; but having been utterly lost to the knowledge of any one in Europe, Prince Rupert, in the first months of the year 1653, arrived in his ship "The Swallow" (which had formed one of the original Royal fleet that revolted in 1648), and anchored at St. Lazar, in the harbour of Nantes. As soon as the report of this unexpected arrival was made to the King of France, Louis XIV., he sent Prince Rupert a welcome, and invited him to Paris for the recovery of his health, which had lately been greatly shattered. Here, also, His Highness found Charles II., who received him the more cordially from the hopes he had been induced to entertain, that Rupert had obtained considerable wealth from his buccaneering enterprises, which His Majesty would have been well content to have shared with him, though it had been obtained by questionable means. But the Prince gave such an account of his voyage as soon convinced the King that he must not expect any money from him. His Highness admitted, indeed, that at times he had gotten great treasure; but the expenses of maintaining his fleet, and his losses by wrecks and otherwise, had cost him as much as he had gained, so that he had brought with him to France scarcely more than would suffice to pay off his ships.

Rupert is appointed Master of the Horse by the French King: his distaste for the frivolities of the capital.

The martial imagination of Louis XIV. was captivated by the details given by Prince Rupert of his life of enterprise and danger, and he appointed him to the post of Master of the Horse to the French King. It is probable that it was a great comfort to Rupert to be in some degree removed from the frivolities, scandals, and intrigues of the wretched little English Court, consisting of a few poor ministers and lords, among whom as much confusion reigned as ever was at the Tower of Babel. The Prince's honest and open nature revolted against such a state of society, and he soon became unpopular with the supercilious and servile

crew that swarmed around the young exiled King. Thus His Highness remained at Paris during the winter 1653-4. But, nevertheless, he was in no obscurity, for he was the most marked man in the French capital during this interval. His romantic bravery and prowess during the civil war, and his daring and marvellous adventures on the sea, his noble appearance and commanding stature, his supposed wealth from his attendance of "richly liveried blackamoors," carrying birds of brilliant plumage and monkeys of strange appearance, the reports that he possessed gems, and ivory, and gold, and rare exotic treasures—all told powerfully on the susceptible hearts of the Parisians; and a number of French love-letters, which were at this time addressed to him by ladies of high rank and station, are still extant. His Highness was, moreover, the hero of many adventures in the French capital. At one time he was nearly drowned while bathing with the King and the Duke of York; at another he killed his man in a night broil. 1653.

In June, 1654, he left Paris on a visit to his mother at the Hague. The Queen of Bohemia had remained there ever since her husband's death, generously supported by the States of Holland. From thence he repaired, in August, to Heidelberg, to visit his brother the Elector; and, having been invited by the Emperor to assume the command in the Imperial army, he went to wait on His Imperial Majesty at Vienna. He had claims for some considerable sums that were due to him under the Articles of Munster; and he succeeded in obtaining an assignation of 30,000 rix dollars, and was received with very great honour in this capital. In 1655 he is again at Paris; but in the autumn of the same year he returned to Vienna, and he appears to have taken arms in the Imperial forces, and to have marched against the Swedes—the ancient allies of his house[9]! In the autumn of 1656, he is again with his 1654. Quits Paris (June), and successively visits the Hague, Heidelberg, Vienna, and Mentz, at which last place he resides for four years.

[9] See Coxe's "House of Austria."

1656. brother at Heidelberg; but he could not agree with one who treated his mother most sordidly, and who meanly withheld from her her own dower-domain of Frankenthal, an utter profligate, separated from his wife and living with another woman, whom he professed to marry, his wife being still alive. Under these circumstances Prince Rupert took up his residence at Mentz, where he remained for the next four years of his life, and where, by a memorandum that he left behind him, it appears he contemplated an autobiography in vindication of his character in those particulars in which he had been aspersed. At this period likewise His Highness occupied himself with those studies and pursuits which have rendered him so celebrated in the annals of science and art.

His inventive genius: discovers the art of engraving in *mezzotinto*.

It is related that in the course of his years of wandering he had passed occasionally through Brussels, where it happened to him to observe a sentinel on the ramparts absent from his post, doing something to the barrel of his musket. The Prince inquired what he was about, and the other replied that his fusil had become rusty, and he was scraping and cleaning it. On taking the rag with which the man was cleaning the weapon, the Prince observed the impression of a curious figure on it, the rusty part of the gun-barrel having left a dark impression, while the smooth part left the rag quite white, according as the metal had been scraped by the soldier. Rupert forthwith conceived the idea that he might make an impression on white paper by making a grained ground on a copper plate. He communicated his idea to Walbrant Vaillant, a Frenchman, who was an artist enjoying some success at the Imperial Court. Together they published the portraits of the grand functionaries who attended the coronation of the Emperor Leopold in 1658, and succeeded in forming prints in imitation of the black and white drawings in Indian ink. Previously the art of graving was the cutting lines upon a

copper-plate by means of a steel instrument: whereas the art of mezzotinto, or aqua tinta, produces a more imitative character of the drawing by means of aqua-fortis, by which the lights and shades are blended together with amazing ease. This art has been nowhere cultivated with such success as in England, and Prince Rupert has always been regarded as the inventor of it. 1658. —

Specimens of his skill as an artist.

There is an engraving in mezzotinto (very scarce) of Prince Rupert in armour, with a feathered hat, and standard, to which W. Vaillant's name is attached; and there is another by the same process of an executioner holding a sword in one hand, and a head in another;—a half length from a picture by Spagnaletto, which is dated the very year 1658, and on the sword are the initials R. P. F., surmounted by a coronet. This engraving is further distinguished by the following description on a tablet beneath, "Fecit Frankfurti anno 1658." Like all other inventors, Prince Rupert has had his claim for the honour of this discovery disputed. An officer of the name of Von Siegen, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, is his principal competitor for a portrait of the Princess Amelia of Hesse, which is said to be dated 1643; but this engraving apparently rests upon the authority of a manuscript by Vertue once in Walpole's possession, and the actual print has not been seen by any body, and is not to be found in any catalogue. Evelyn, who was a contemporary, calls it "the new way of engraving, or mezzotinto, invented and communicated by Prince Rupert." The invention had been made public four years, when, in 1662, His Highness showed Evelyn the process with his own hands, and enlarged upon all its details with characteristic frankness. He names "many incomparable engravings in his new and incomparable style," some of which are marked "Dessinato per il principe Roberto a Londra."

His claims as the discoverer of this ingenious process disputed.

1661. — Is invited to London by the King, Sept. and effects the return of his mother to England: her death, 13th Feb. (1662).

Soon after "the Restoration" Prince Rupert received an invitation from the King to visit the British Court, and in his way stopped at the Hague to see his mother. The Queen of Bohemia was at this time entirely dependent upon the Earl of Craven [1], who was her titular chamberlain. His estates had been confiscated by Cromwell, and he was now anxious to procure his own and Her Majesty's return to her native country; but, being hampered with debt, they could not leave Holland; and her son, who had long ago dispensed with "his blackamoors and their laced liveries," was utterly unable to discharge the debt. He, however, remained some months with his mother and sister Louisa, at the Hague, both of whom shared his taste for the fine arts. He remained with his mother till September, 1661, when he reached England, as Pepys says in his Diary, "welcome to nobody." This, however, was a mere party snarl, and palpably unjust. After having paid his court to the King, his cousin, he again went to Vienna; and it was not till the end of the year that he settled in England; and was forthwith sworn of the Privy Council, and had office conferred upon him. His first object was to effect the return of the Queen, his mother, to England, which he did at the beginning of 1662, and she was once more united to her favourite son Rupert, with whom she closed her eventful life on the 13th February, 1662, in her sixty-sixth year. To pass from grave to gay, Rupert accompanied the King

[1] This worthy old Earl, who lived to a great age, and whose portrait on horseback may yet be seen at the end of Craven Buildings, Drury Lane, had been highly celebrated for his military talents, by which he had signalized himself in Germany and in the Netherlands. He was in his later life particularly famous for assisting at the extinguishing of fires, of which he contrived to receive such early intimation as to be able to assist at them with his presence on horseback; on which it became a common saying, "The Earl's horse smells a fire so soon as it happens."

to meet his luckless bride from Portugal, at Portsmouth, the following May. 1662.

Prince Rupert now vainly endeavoured to settle himself in life by a creditable marriage; but a younger son of a discrowned father had no ostensible possessions with which to endow a Royal wife; and he was forced to abandon all pretensions to married life, and to take refuge in associations of a different character. He conceived an attachment for Francisca, daughter of the Lord Bellamont, which was returned; and its result was a son—Dudley Bard, sometimes styled Dudley Rupert[2], who outlived his gallant father, having evinced a kindred love and genius for war, for he was killed in a desperate attempt to scale the walls of Buda, at the age of twenty. By Mrs. Margaret Hughes[3] he had likewise a daughter named Ruperta, who was married to Emanuel Scroope Howe, from whom the late Admiral Sir Robert Bromley continues the line of the truly brave and renowned warrior Prince Rupert, who owed his existence to a King of Bohemia, and his fame to the Stuarts of England.

He is appointed to a naval command.

He entered a good deal into society with the King, who was always kind to him. He is spoken of by Pepys as the best tennis-player in England, and used to play the game very often with Charles, who was in the habit of having himself weighed before and after each game. On one occasion it is recorded that he had lost four pounds and a half in his exercise. The King also took up yachting, and had a pleasure-boat moored in

[2] Some suspicion rests upon this Dudley Bard as the son of Prince Rupert. He is never mentioned in the Prince's will, but only Ruperta, to whom every thing is bequeathed; and the title of Bellamont has never, I believe, existed in the peerage, although it is familiar enough in plays and romances.

[3] *Miss* was in these days a title of reproach: all unmarried ladies of condition styled themselves *Mrs.* This woman was one of the actresses belonging to the King's company. She appears to have been the first female representative of Desdemona that had ever appeared on the stage.

1664. the river opposite Whitehall, which Prince Rupert was better able to handle than His Majesty. In 1664, when war was somewhat hastily declared against the Dutch, the Prince was directed to raise his flag in the "Henrietta;" but it is uncertain whether he went to sea in the capacity of Admiral of the White until the following year.

1665. Serves, under the Duke of York, against the Dutch.

The Duke of York, commanding as Admiral of the fleet, put to sea, in May, 1665, and, before the Dutch could be in readiness, alarmed the coasts of Holland and captured many of their homeward-bound ships, in which service Rupert had more experience than any other person in the navy.

Naval victory over the Dutch, 3rd June.

The Dutch fleet, under the command of Opdam de Wassenaer, put to sea on the 1st June, and on the 3rd the opposing fleets came in sight. Each of them was divided into three squadrons, respectively commanded on the side of the English by Prince Rupert, Penn, and the Earl of Sandwich, and on the part of the enemy by Cortenaer, Evertzen, and Cornelius Tromp. The action was soon terminated by the blowing up of Opdam's flagship, when in hot engagement with the Duke of York; which accident so much discouraged the Dutch, that they fled towards their own coast, having lost nineteen ships, sunk or taken. Tromp alone bravely sustained with his squadron the attack of the English, and protected the retreat of his countrymen. The Duke of York, seeing that it was vain to continue the pursuit, carried the fleet back to England, where he was received with acclamations by the Court and City at Whitehall; but for some reason or another the King and Council did not think it advisable to send His Royal Highness to sea the following year.

Rupert is sent against a French squadron, and, join-

In 1665 the French entered into the contest, and joined the Dutch against the English. The French Admiral, the Duc de Beaufort, had a fleet of forty sail under his command; and the Dutch, under the united

command of De Ruyter and Tromp, had with wonderful energy and activity got seventy-six sail, to revenge the former defeat. To oppose these enemies, by whom England was evidently overmatched, Rupert was detached with thirty ships against the former; and Monk, Duke of Albemarle, with fifty-four ships, set sail to give battle to the Dutch. He found De Ruyter anchored between Nieuport and Dunkirk on the 1st June, and at once attacked the enemy. In the first day the advantage was wholly on the side of the Dutch, who lost Vice-Admiral Evertzen, killed by a cannon ball; while the English lost their Vice-Admiral Berkeley. The fight, interrupted by the night, was renewed in the morning, and lasted throughout the 2nd; the English having still the disadvantage, by losing eight ships sunk or taken, which reduced their fighting ships to twenty-eight; while sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch during the action. The Duke of Albemarle, accordingly, on the 3rd, considered himself obliged to retreat, but could not effect his purpose all through that day; but on the 4th the English succeeded at last in executing their design, close fighting as they withdrew towards their own shores. About two o'clock, however, a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all sail to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that it was Beaufort's fleet,—the English, that it was that of Prince Rupert. Albemarle, who had information of the Prince's approach (for the Duke of York had sent His Highness from London an order for his immediate return to the Downs), bent his course towards the new comers[4]. Albemarle and Rupert

1665. — ing forces with Albemarle, attacks the combined fleets of Holland and France, 4th June.

[4] Dryden, in a noble poem, describes this incident:—

"Thus reinforced against the adverse fleet,
Still doubling ours, brave Rupert leads the way;
With the first blushes of the morn they meet,
And bring night back upon the newborn day.

"His presence soon blows up the kindling fight,
And his loud guns speak thick like angry men;

1665. were now determined to force the enemy; whereupon the united fleets attacked anew with equal spirit and valour, but with more animosity than ever: and this fourth day proved less unsuccessful than those that preceded, though it is somewhat uncertain who obtained the victory; nevertheless the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped the chief honour. They lost four more ships than their opponents; but the Dutch admitted the loss of six ships, with 2880 men, besides many officers of rank and note.

The action is renewed: defeat of the Dutch: Rupert brings home the British fleet, 23rd Oct.

The Dutch expressed their satisfaction by all kinds of triumph and rejoicing; the English by bonfires, and by appointing a day of thanksgiving. The two fleets retired to their respective harbours to refit; and the English were first repaired, and put to sea more formidable than before, having in their line many ships which the Dutch had boasted to have destroyed. Both fleets were in sight on the 24th July; and Europe saw these two resolute nations again engaged in a contest which had yet to be brought to a decisive issue. The English fleet now consisted of above 100 sail—Prince Rupert commanded the Red squadron, Sir Thomas Allen the White, and Sir Jeremy Smith the Blue. The Dutch had eighty sail, besides nineteen fire ships, under the joint command of De Ruyter and Van Tromp—rivals in glory, but enemies from faction,—and posted their ships across the mouth of the Thames. Allen at once attacked young Evertzen, whom he killed, and entirely routed; but Van Tromp engaged the Blue squadron, and had a long dispute; but, instead of keeping his place in the line, he pursued the ships he had discomfited. Prince Rupert attacked

It seemed as Slaughter had been breathed all night,
And Death new-pointed his dull dart again.

"Thousands were there in darker fame that dwell,
Whose deeds some nobler poem shall adorn;
And though to me unknown, they sure fought well
Whom Rupert led, and who were British born."

De Ruyter, who maintained the combat with conduct and valour, and kept his station till night ended the engagement, and enabled the Dutch Admiral to disengage himself. Next day, hearing nothing of Van Tromp, and finding his fleet scattered, he made his retreat with such skilful management, that he gained more honour by it than he could have done by a victory. He never in his whole life showed so much bravery and capacity as in this engagement against Albemarle and Prince Rupert. There were about twenty Dutch ships sunk or burnt in this action, and nearly 7000 men put *hors de combat*. Prince Rupert brought home the British fleet on the 23rd October. 1665.

Anecdote of the Prince and Schomberg.

A characteristic incident has been recorded of Prince Rupert on his return to the mouth of the Thames. A land force had been prepared, and the Marshal de Schomberg was appointed to take part in the war on the Continent. It had been encamped at Blackheath, and was now ordered to embark on board the fleet, when the Marshal transformed his head-quarters from his tent on shore to his galley on the sea, and selected the "Greyhound" for his accommodation. On the complaint of his officers that they did not know how to distinguish the General's ship in such a multitude, Schomberg proposed to hoist a broad and conspicuous standard for himself. As soon as this was displayed, Rupert fired two guns, as a signal to lower the obnoxious flag; and at the same time sent peremptory orders to the captain of the "Greyhound" to remove it. Schomberg sent the captain on board the flag-ship to convey his remonstrance, leaving the flag flying in disobedience of these orders. The Prince commanded his officer to be clapped into the bilboes, and, sailing up in his flag-ship alongside the "Greyhound," threatened to sink her in a moment, unless he was obeyed. The flag quickly disappeared, and Schomberg was ordered to disembark his forces forthwith at Yarmouth.

1665. We find him now amidst the giddy Court in their annual visit to Tunbridge Wells; and his sojourn there brings him under the lively pen of the Count de Grammont. However, when news reached the Prince of the invasion of the Dutch fleet, which on the 7th June sailed exultingly up the Thames, His Highness hastened with such land forces as he could collect. With quiet resolution he employed his usual energy in fortifying Upnor Castle at the confluence of the Medway, and awaited the return of the enemy, upon whom he opened an unexpected fire, which seriously crippled their spars and timbers, and with this the Dutch departed home.

Is appointed Governor of Windsor Castle: resumes his mechanical pursuits.

The Prince was now appointed Governor of Windsor Castle, where for a considerable period he took up his abode, and returned to his studies and experiments. And it is at this time that we hear of him in the "Transactions of the Royal Society." He kept quite aloof from politics, and lived the life of a recluse; excepting that he was much beloved by the country gentlemen of Berkshire, with whom he hunted in the Royal Forests; and he also amused himself with his yacht on the Thames, to *keep alive the web on his foot.*

1672. Again commands the fleet against the Dutch.

When the last Dutch war broke out in 1672, the Duke of York being incapacitated from command of the fleet by the Test Act of 1673, and the unfortunate Earl of Sandwich having fallen a martyr to a high sense of honour at Solebay, Prince Rupert was again called from his peaceful laboratory to the quarter deck, and appointed to command the English fleet. But although the nomination of one so well known both in military and naval annals, and distinguished by his tried constancy to the Reformed Religion, had won for him a marvellous concurrence of the people's affection in town and country, yet there was a large party who were adverse to him, as well on account of his foreign birth as for his overbearing temper, and who were ready to go all lengths "to take off the chariot wheels of his expedition, and to clap on every

dead weight to retard him." Defects of due preparation in supplies, or the ill timing of every requisite; the starting of interested objections, discontents, and little feuds among the seafolk, protracted the time to the end of April before the Prince could obtain his commission and instructions; so that the Dutch took the sea before him. De Ruyter had personal motives to sharpen his zeal; and de Witt hastened the equipment of his fleet, in the hope of striking a decisive blow, at once to rouse the courage of the States, and to sustain his own declining authority. 1672.

Nevertheless the Prince endeavoured by action to overcome all discouragements. Late as it was before he obtained the authority for impressing seamen, he hastened forth to sea, relying on the treacherous promise that seamen and necessaries should be sent after him. The King came down to the fleet to give it the encouragement of his presence; and at a Council of War, at which His Majesty was present, the resolve was taken to go after the enemy, who were reported to be riding at anchor within the sands at Schooneveldt. Although His Highness perceived that this position would not admit of a fight in fair sea room, yet, rather than incur delay, he agreed to attack them in that very place, and set sail with this view on the 15th May. Sir Edward Spragge and the Earl of Ossory were Vice-Admirals under the Prince, who was also to be joined by a French squadron under the Count d'Estrées on the 16th. After this junction the combined fleet pursued it course, consisting of 140 sail of all sorts, of which the white squadron was that of the French, with thirty men of war. The sands in the meanwhile, near which the enemy's fleet lay, were sounded, and on the 27th the Prince saw the Dutch fleet at anchor in line, outside the mouths of the Schelt and Zeeland. It consisted of 109 sail, of which fifty-four were men of war, and fourteen frigates; but De Ruyter had also brought with him twenty-five fire ships, and sixteen

Sets sail, 15th May, together with a French squadron, and on the 28th, and again on the 4th June, encounters the Dutch under Tromp and De Ruyter off Flushing: the neglect of the Board of Admiralty.

1673. vessels to be sunk in the mouth of the Thames. Van Tromp was restored to favour, and with undiminished bitterness served under De Ruyter.

About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 7th June the Prince loosed his foretopsail and weighed; hoisting the Union flag on the mizen peak and firing a gun as a signal to sail on against the enemy: but it was 12 at noon before the battle began. The French did not take part till two hours after the Prince had engaged Van Tromp, who led the enemy's van; but afterwards De Ruyter and D'Estrées got into such warm action, that the loss fell chiefly on them. Nevertheless they appear to have parted with mutual consent, when De Ruyter fell upon the "Royal Charles," the flagship of the Prince; and Van Tromp and Spragge, who were old antagonists, came together. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours, where they rested a week refitting, and then came forth again to assail the confederate fleet off Flushing on the 12th and 14th June; but after cannonading each other for above four hours both sides retired to their respective coasts. Prince Rupert hastened to report his proceedings to the King, and to inform His Majesty in person of the crank state of his flagship, which fetched so much water in at the ports that the entire lower tier of guns had proved to him unserviceable even in the easy gale that had prevailed during the engagement. The easy and indolent King was again persuaded to accompany the Prince back to the fleet to see with his own eyes the neglect and incapacity of his Board of Admiralty. Rupert was permitted to have his own orders executed; and as soon as he was again ready for sea he was alongside the enemy.

1673. Indecisive action off the Texel: death of Sir E. Spragge

This was on the 11th August, 1673, Sir Edward Spragge had promised the King, before he went to sea, that he would bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or lose his own life in the attempt. The two fleets met off the Texel. Sir Edward displayed extraordinary

conduct and courage, and obliged his adversary to shift his flag four times into the following strangely-named ships;—from the "Golden Lion" to "The Prince on Horseback;" thence to the "Amsterdam;" and thence to the "Comet." Sir Edward had also to shift his flag several times, and was in the act of removing from the "St. George," when a cannon-shot struck his barge and sunk it, and the Admiral and all the crew perished. D'Estrées, with the French squadron, very suspiciously kept at a distance, as if to enjoy the exhausting rivalry in action of his country's combined enemies. "What can the French have been about?" said one Dutchman to another. "Why, you fool, they have hired the English to fight for them; and all their business here was to see that their servants earned their wages." The Prince fought desperately, as usual; and "on no other occasion of his life did he acquire more deserved honour: his conduct as well as valour shone out with signal lustre." As soon as His Highness heard of the death of Sir Edward Spragge and the gallant Earl of Ossory[5], his two Vice-Admirals, he ordered the engagement to be renewed, which became very close and bloody. Rupert commanded the fire-ships to be sent in among the enemy, and signalled to the French Admiral, D'Estrées, to bear down: but when he saw that they forebore to obey, and that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, he ordered that easy sail should be made towards the English coast; and the victory remained as doubtful as in all the naval actions of the war, for the Dutch did not venture to pursue. While the fleets were laid up to refit the Prince was requested by the House of Commons "to impart the reasons of some miscarriages;" but he was at the same time laid up from the conse-

1673. — and the Earl of Ossory, 11th Aug.: suspicious conduct of the French Admiral.

[5] When his father, the Marquis of Ormonde, heard of his death, he pronounced his son's most proud yet touching elegy in these words:—"I would not change my dead Ossory for all the living sons in Christendom."

1673. — quences of a wound in the head, that he had received in the war, and which required his skull to be trepanned. In consequence of this illness he did not again go to sea; and this was the last action in which Rupert ever served.

Rupert retires into private life.

Prince Rupert now retired absolutely into private life, and had ample leisure to look into the sad vicissitudes of his career. He had outlived almost all his comrades in arms. The good and gallant Lord Craven alone survived him of all his earliest friends, and lived to act as His Highness's executor, which is the reason that all the most interesting memorials of our brave Prince are extant at Combe Abbey.

1681. His manly defence of Hugh Speke.

He passed the remainder of his days "in sedate studies:" but he was a Commissioner of Admiralty, and sat frequently in the Council Chamber. An anecdote is recorded of him as probably his last public act in 1681. One Hugh Speke, recorded by Macaulay to have been "a man of good family, but of a singularly base and depraved nature," was elected Knight of the Shire for Somersetshire in opposition to the wishes of the Court; and those who desired to gain favour there had him summoned by the Secretary of State before the Council on a libellous charge amounting to High Treason. He made his defence in presence of the King and Prince Rupert with the spirit becoming an Englishman, reminding His Majesty of his faithful services to the Royal cause. When Prince Rupert stood up, and desired the favour of the King that Mr. Speke might be ordered to withdraw; which being done, His Highness confirmed all that Mr. Speke had said of his faithful service, and desired to name this one circumstance, which that gentleman had not deemed it handsome to mention: At the siege of Bridgewater, when the late King was in the greatest difficulties for want of money, Mr. Speke sent him 1000 broad pieces, of which he had been so far from seeking the reimbursement that he had

never seen or heard of him since that time. On which the false accusation against him was dismissed by King Charles, and he was treated and entertained in an obliging manner. 1682.

The brief remainder of Prince Rupert's days was passed in tranquillity and retirement. A calm and quiet evening closed life's stormy day, and at length, on the 29th November, 1682, he died at his house in Spring Gardens, in the sixty-third year of his age, and was buried in Henry VII's, Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, with a state and solemnity befitting his high lineage and the gratitude of his adopted country for his great and eminent services. His end may be presumed to have been painless, since in his executor's accounts the entry for Mr. Chase's, the apothecary's, bill is no more than 2*l.* 5*s.* His death, 29th Nov.

We miss the character which the elegant pen of Lord Clarendon could have given of the subject of this memoir, but perhaps he lived too near and intimately with Prince Rupert to have caught the salient features of his career. Grainger has drawn him with great truth both as a civilian and an officer. "He was brave to temerity; he possessed in a high degree that kind of courage which is better for attack than defence, and is less adapted to the land service than that of the sea, where precipitous valour is on its element. He seldom engaged but he gained the advantage, which he generally lost by pursuing it too far. He was better qualified to storm a citadel or even mount a breach, than patiently to sustain a siege, and would have furnished an excellent assistant to a General of a cooler head." Count Hamilton, in "Les Mémoires de Grammont," thus describes Prince Robert (as he was popularly called), "Il était vaillant et brave jusqu'à la témérité, son esprit était sujet à quelques travers dont il eut été bien faché de se corriger. Il avait la génié féconde en expériences de mathématiques et quelques talens pour la chymie. Poli à l'excès quand l'occasion ne le His character.

dépendait pas, fier et même brutal quand il était question de s'humaniser. Il était grand, et n'avait que trop mauvais air. Son visage était sec et dur lors même qu'il voulait le radoucir; mais dans ses mauvaises humeurs c'était un vrai physionomie de réprouvé."

We may deduce a somewhat more detailed character from the life and history of Prince Rupert. Born during the short-lived greatness of his unfortunate father, he never knew a home; and accordingly his natural disposition was never refined by the associations of his rank nor by education. With an innate indifference to fear, his disposition was ardent and never qualified by those considerations which create prudence, discretion, or skill. Like a beggar-boy in the streets, he flew at his adversary without a thought of any consequences. His bravery, therefore, never, either by land or sea, produced fruit; and the success of an irresistible onset only led to a drawn battle. He mixed enough among German Princes to obtain a full share of his consequence as a man of birth; but his intercourse with the English aristocracy, in the career of a soldier, rubbed off some of the roughnesses that had accompanied his first intercourse with them; and he became in the long run a thorough Englishman. Now and then, however, his princely bringing up reproduced haughtiness,—as in the outrageous and insulting intercourse with the Marquis of Newcastle previously to the battle of Marston Moor; and in his behaviour to Lord Digby and others, who enjoyed the confidence of the King. It was a new phase of the same presumption that marked his conduct towards the King himself when reduced to his lowest fortunes at Newark. As an officer, his surrender of Bristol was a very great reflection upon his military character.

His inventive genius.

During the lulls in his stormy life he turned his mind to many inventions,—some warlike, and some purely philosophical. He laboured heartily at his own forge, and applied himself as well to the practical as to

the theoretical details of science. The Transactions of the Royal Society record his mode of fabricating gunpowder of much greater strength and power than what was at that time in use: likewise a method of blowing up rocks in mines, or under water. Perhaps a toy that bears the name of "Rupert's drop,"—a curious bubble of glass, that has long amused children and puzzled scientific men, is attributable to the Prince, and was already so well known when "Hudibras" was written as to be employed in a popular illustration:—

> "Honour is like that glassy bubble
> That finds philosophers such trouble;
> Whose least part cracked, the whole does fly,
> And wits are cracked to find out why."
> Butler's "Hudibras," Part ii. Canto 2.

There was also a metal called by the Prince's name, in which guns were cast: and he contrived so excellent a method of boring them, that a water-mill was erected for the purpose: but the entire secret of it died with the illustrious inventor.

Horace Walpole gives Prince Rupert a place in his Catalogue of Engravers, with these remarks—"It is a trite observation, that gunpowder was discovered by a monk, and printing by a soldier, Few Royal names appear at the head of discoveries. Gunpowder or printing might have fallen into many a Prince's way, and the world had been still happy or unhappy enough not to possess those arts. Born with the tastes of an uncle, whom his sword was not fortunate in defending, Prince Rupert was fond of the sciences which soften and adorn a hero's private hours; and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amusement without dedicating his life to their pursuit. Had the Court of the First Charles been peaceful, how agreeably had this Prince's congenial propensity flattered and confirmed the inclinations of his nephew! How different a figure does the same Prince make in a reign of dissimilar complexion! The philosophic warrior, who

could relax himself into the ornament of a refined Court, was thought a savage mechanic when courtiers were only voluptuous wits."

There is a character extant of Prince Rupert, from the elegant pen of Bishop Sprat, that I have not met with, but it is reported "to do justice to His Highness's many amiable qualities." He certainly died very much lamented, as one whose aim in all his actions and all his accomplishments was the public good. In private life he was just, beneficent, and courteous; so that old persons in the neighbourhood of Windsor Castle spoke of him in a rapturous memory many years after his death. He was a great promoter of many public companies: and he was the first Governor of the Hudson Bay Company; in consequence of which a large district of Labrador is called Rupert's Land, which has in our days given its name to a diocese of the Colonial Church. He was a considerable collector of jewels and other valuables, which were disposed of after his death by way of lottery. They were valued at 20,000*l.*, including a necklace of pearls which subsequently became the property of Nell Gwynne, the King having purchased it for 4500*l.* The advertisement for the lottery stated that it "should be drawn in His Majesty's presence, who was pleased to assure the public that he would himself see all the prizes put in among the blanks, and that the whole should be managed with equity and fairness; nothing being intended but the sale of the property at a moderate value[6]."

[6] Clarendon, and other histories of the time,—Warburton; Elliott's "Rupert and the Cavaliers;" Walpole; "Mémoires de Grammont;" Sir Philip Warwick's "Memoirs."

SIR THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX,

A GENERAL FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

Born 1611. Died 1671.

His ancestry, birth, and parentage.

THIS eminent General and active agent against King Charles the First, in the civil war of England, was the eldest son of Ferdinand Baron Fairfax, of Cameron, in the kingdom of Scotland, by Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. Sir Thomas was born in January, 1611, at Denton Park, in the parish of Otley, in Yorkshire. He was descended of a martial race: one of his uncles was at the siege of Rouen in 1591, in the army sent to the assistance of Henry IV. by Queen Elizabeth, under her favourite Lord Essex, and received the honour of knighthood for this distinguished service. Another uncle served under the celebrated Sir Francis Vere, in the famous defence of Ostend against the Spaniards, where he received a wound under singular circumstances: having been

1641. struck with a fragment of the skull of a French Maréchal, who was killed by a cannon-ball beside him, he was afterwards himself slain in battle. His maternal uncle was one of the heroes of England who fought against the Spanish Armada. Our hero inherited, therefore, a natural inclination towards martial honour, and served in Holland when a very young man under Horatio, Lord Vere, in the forces sent over by King James I. to the assistance of the Elector Palatine; and it is believed that he remained on the Continent, and also served under Gustavus Adolphus.

His marriage: joins the Dissenters.

How long Fairfax continued abroad is not known, nor when he returned; but when he came back he resided in his father's house, and married Anne, fourth daughter of his General, the Lord Vere of Tilbury. She was a zealous Presbyterian; and, either by her persuasions or by the example of his own father—who is described by Clarendon as "actively and factiously disaffected to the King"—he contracted a strong aversion to the Court, became a dissenter from the Church of England, and a leading man in the "Commonwealth."

Serves with his father on the side of the Parliament, and petitions the King to avoid coming to a rupture with it, Aug. 1641.

Lord Fairfax, the father, had in very early life declared himself on the side of the Parliament; and, although he was not a military man, he accepted a commission under the Earl of Essex to command all the forces of Yorkshire and the adjacent counties in chief, by which, in an incredibly short time, he was able to draw together an army of 5000 or 6000 horse and foot, with which he held the southern part of that large and rich county against the Earl of Newcastle. When the King came to York, in August, 1641, our hero was entrusted by the county to prepare a petition to His Majesty, the scope of which was to beseech him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take the course of raising forces. This petition Charles refused to receive; but Thomas Fairfax followed His Majesty as far as Heyworth Moor, where, in the presence of 80,000 or 100,000 people, he tendered the same petition upon

the pommel of his saddle, and was thenceforth reputed a bold, undaunted patriot. 1641.

Our hero now took a commission in the army under his father, and contented himself with serving the Parliament in some of the lower grades of military employment. His first exploit was to drive a body of Royalists out of Bradford, whom he followed at the head of some horse as far as Leeds, and obliged them to quit that town likewise, and to flee in haste to York. He captured a good store of ammunition in Leeds, of which the newly-raised forces of his father Lord Fairfax stood much in need. He next defeated Colonel Slingsby at Gisborough; and called upon Wakefield and Doncaster to declare for the Parliament. For these overt acts of rebellion both Lord Fairfax and Thomas Fairfax were declared traitors. This, however, did not cause them to relax their energies. The father found himself intercepted on Clifford Moor by the Earl of Newcastle; whereupon he sent to his son to bring up all the troops he could collect, and to come to his assistance: but these new levies were encountered and defeated by Lord Goring, on Bramham Moor, and again at Seacroft; so that the Roundheads had some difficulty in making their way to Leeds to join Lord Fairfax.

Is defeated at Bramham Moor by Lord Goring.

On the 30th June the Parliamentary army was defeated on Atherton Moor by Newcastle; and Thomas Fairfax and his lady, with many others, were surrounded; but he himself cut his way through the enemy: the rest were made prisoners. He was pursued as far as Selby with a bad wound in the wrist of his bridle arm, which almost made him fall from his horse; but nevertheless he got away in safety, and after a time was found at Hull, then besieged by the Royalists. Fairfax, however, did not remain in that place, but, getting out again, began to raise forces in the county of York, and in a short space levied 1500 foot and 700 horse, with which he proceeded to join

1643-4

Narrow escape from Atherton Moor, 30th June: captures a body of Irish at Nantwich, 15th Jan.: takes Belasis, Governor of York at Selby, 11th April: battle of

1644. Cromwell in Lincolnshire. About this time, in 1643, the King's affairs prospered so much, that Fairfax quitted these parts, and improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked-for march into Cheshire, and occupied Chester, then besieged by Lord Byron. In January, 1644, he joined with Sir William Brereton, and on the 21st defeated Byron at Nantwich, where he took 1500 Irish soldiers, with their officers, who had recently come over to the King's assistance. In March he was ordered back into Yorkshire to join his father, whom he met at Ferrybridge; and on the 11th April they met, and defeated at Selby a force under Colonel Bellasis, governor of York, whom they took prisoner. They then united with the Scotch army, and laid siege to York, in which city they had shut up the Earl of Newcastle: Prince Rupert, however, coming up with a considerable army, the siege was raised on the 2nd July; and both parties met on the following day on Marston Moor. Here 50,000 British were led to mutual slaughter, and the victory rested long undecided between the contending parties. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing, which was opposed to Prince Rupert. The action did not commence till six or seven in the evening, when, with his accustomed impetuosity, the Prince fell on Fairfax, and drove him off the field: but Sir Thomas had so disciplined his men that they speedily rallied, and returned to the army, and had their full revenge over the Royalists. Here Cromwell likewise obtained complete success at the same time over the left wing of the Royalist army, so that the fight was renewed and maintained on both sides with such warmth and vigour, that, as night approached, Lord Fairfax and General Leven ordered forward the Parliamentary army, and drove the Royalists off the field, and for a distance of nearly eight miles, to the very gates of York. When this city surrendered on the 15th July, Lord Fairfax and the Yorkshiremen were constituted Governor and garrison. Sir Thomas

Marston Moor, 3rd July.

Fairfax, in September following, took Helmsley Castle, where he received a dangerous wound in the shoulder, and he was carried back to York to be cured. 1645.

The defeat at Marston Moor tolled the knell of King Charles's fortunes; for from henceforth they faded. Intrigues and rivalries likewise sprang up in the ranks of the conquerors. The democratic spirit revolted against the leadership of the Lords, and it soon became popular to devise a scheme which might remove Essex and Manchester from the head of the Parliamentary armies. Accordingly they introduced into the House of Commons, for reasons of rigid puritanical interest, what was termed "The Self-denying Ordinance," and with considerable difficulty obtained the concurrence of the House of Lords to it in January, 1645. This was followed by an ordinance for the new modelling of the army. The immediate consequence of these measures was, that the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Denbigh, Sir William Waller, General Massey, and others, laid down their commands; as did ostensibly Oliver Cromwell likewise; but we shall see in the sequel that this last was a pretence.

Consequences of the defeat at Marston Moor: "The Self-denying Ordinance:" Jan.

The intrigue by which "The Self-denying Ordinance" was perfected displaced all who were in the way; but Fairfax had been already tampered with, and it was found that he alone could be relied upon to play out the game. As they were likely to be without a General to command their Parliamentary army when those who were members of either House were to be excluded, it had been timely considered and talked of, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had "turned the fortune of the day" in the late battle near York, when the Scots were routed, and their general fled, had behaved himself so signally in the service on other previous occasions, that Oliver Cromwell assured the Parliament that he was fully equal for the charge of their General. Fairfax therefore, with much assumed modesty, accepted the command almost before Essex had laid it down. He

Fairfax is appointed to the chief command on the resignation of Essex.

1645. at once left London, on the 3rd April, for Windsor, there to assist in framing the new army upon the "new model". He was efficiently supported in this task by Major-General Skippon. While thus employed at Windsor the rumour came to the Parliament that the King had sent a convoy of 2000 horse to join Prince Rupert at Worcester, and bring him safe to Oxford. Cromwell, instead of following the example of the Lords-Generals who had laid down their commissions, was at this time in charge of an army in the West; and his friends contrived that Fairfax should request that the Houses would give Lieutenant-General Cromwell leave to stay with him for a few days for his better information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him; and shortly afterwards, with much earnestness, desired "that they would allow Cromwell to serve for that campaign."

Proceedings of Cromwell and Fairfax on the eve of the battle of Naseby.

Fairfax and Cromwell were therefore now ordered to interrupt the communications of the King with the West of England, which induced His Majesty to order to his assistance Lord Goring, with his horse and dragoons. Who marched accordingly with so much expedition towards the King, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a detachment of Cromwell's army as they were attempting a passage over the river Isis, and broke and defeated them with great slaughter. The new General, however, was near Newbury, perfecting the new model, and was able to take the field, which he effectively did on the 1st May. The King and Goring were, however, out before him, for it had been reported that Fairfax had been much more unready than he really was, and the plan was to force him to fight, because the new model was very much disliked by many. However, after much discussion, Goring was sent away to the West, and the King marched to the North. Fairfax then believed that it would bring the Royal army back in hot haste if a pretence were made against

their head-quarters at Oxford. Accordingly Fairfax marched towards that city, having ordered up from Windsor all the siege train and ammunition to meet him, and established a bridge across the river. The siege, however, proved a larger undertaking than "the new model" was ripe for; and therefore, after remaining before Oxford till the 3rd June, Fairfax received orders from the Committee of both Kingdoms to raise the siege, as the King had already advanced with his army for the relief of the place as near as Harborough. Fairfax now seeing a battle inevitable, and at the same time desiring it, called upon the garrisons of the counties of Warwick, Northampton, and Nottingham to speed from thence such force as they could spare. On the 13th a Council of War was summoned by the General; and while it was sitting Lieutenant-General Cromwell came in, having brought with him 600 horse and dragoons. The King was reported to be at Burrough Hill, about six miles distant. 1644.

General Skippon appears to have chosen the ground on which Fairfax drew up his army; it must have been below the ledge of the hill on which Naseby Village stands, flanked on the left hand by a hedge, which was lined with musketeers. Cromwell commanded the right wing, and Ireton the left; and a considerable reserve, under the charge of Pride and Hammond, stood in the rear of the left centre. Prince Rupert commanded the right of the Royal army, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with the Newark horse, the left. It was about ten o'clock A.M when, as usual, Rupert and his brother Maurice fell on their adversaries with their accustomed impetuosity, and overbore the entire wing, wounding and taking Ireton prisoner, capturing all his guns, and pursuing the fugitives into the very village of Naseby. But when, in the act of returning, the Prince saw the train posted immediately under the hill, he rode down to summon them, offering them quarter; the musketeers in charge however 1645. Battle of Naseby, 14th June.

1645. — opened fire, which being also responded to by Colonel Pride's reserve, the Royalist horse retired in great haste and rejoined the King. On the other hand Cromwell as thoroughly overthrew Sir Marmaduke Langdale's horse, and drove them off the field; but with consummate prudence he ordered four of his squadrons to follow the enemy, to prevent their re-formation, while he led all the rest of his horse against the Royal foot, which was in sharp action with Fairfax's centre. The King called up the reserve of horse and his own guard, and, placing himself at their head, charged Cromwell, when on a sudden a panic seized the Cavaliers, and they fairly ran away, carrying off His Majesty with them. By this time Prince Rupert was returned with a good body of the horse that had gone with him to Naseby; but these having, as they thought, done their share of the battle, could not be brought again into order to charge again; and Lord Astley, with his foot, being thus exposed on all sides, was compelled to quit the field. The Parliamentary army immediately pushed forward the horse, pursuing the flying Royalists for above fourteen miles on the way to Leicester; and in this engagement accordingly the prisoners amounted to 5000 officers and men. Besides which, Fairfax captured all the King's cannon and his baggage, containing his chancery, with his most secret papers, which were afterwards made great use of by the Parliament in prejudice of the Royal cause.

Recovers Leicester, 18th June.

Fairfax carried forward his head quarters that night to Harborough, about five miles distant; and to vaunt his success sent Colonel Fiennes to London to carry his despatch to his Government, with the colours taken in the battle; and the next day he placed his army at Great Glyn, within four miles of Leicester. The General forthwith sent a summons to the Lord Hastings of Loughborough, to surrender the garrison, who returned an answer of defiance; and at a Council of War it was resolved to storm the place. Foraging parties were

forthwith despatched to bring in ladders, carts, hay, straw, and other things requisite for a storm; and as soon as possible a battery, composed of the artillery taken at Naseby, was planted, and opened. But before a storming party could advance, a trumpeter arrived from Lord Hastings of Loughborough, the Governor, desiring a parley for the surrender of the town; and on the 18th June the Parliamentary forces took possession of Leicester. 1645.

The King had gone into Wales, having sent Prince Rupert to defend Bristol, but Lord Goring, in the West, had very nearly made himself master of Taunton; which induced Fairfax to carry his army to the security of that town; and accordingly, marching by Warwick and Blandford, he reached Dorchester on the 3rd July. The reason of his adopting a rather circuitous line of march was, the rising power of what were termed the "Club-men," or "Club-risers," who, under the influence of one Sir John Stavell and Mr. Hollis, had collected together some 5000 or 6000 men, most in arms. These people had caused alarm to both the Royalists and Parliamentarians; so that the Prince of Wales, when he was in those parts, had advised Lord Goring "to punish these Club-men, who would otherwise in time prove as dangerous to the King as any other strength of the rebels;" while Fairfax found that they would not suffer either contributions or victuals to be carried in to the Parliamentary garrisons, "and that they did him more mischief than all the power of the King's party." On the 4th July the report came in that "the Club-men" were risen against the forces in Lyme, and four of their principal men came to Dorchester to have speech with the General, who answered their petition in person, but without flinching before their unreasonable pretensions:— Fairfax's reply to the address of "the Club-men," 4th July.

"That my affections and the affections of this army are as much inclined to peace as any men's whatsoever;

1645. and we undertake the war for no other end; and I shall be ready, as far as concerns me, to further all lawful and fit means to procure it. But when you require a lett pass from me to go to present a petition to the Parliament to be allowed to provide arms, set watches, be quiet with them that are so, lay hold on disorderly soldiers, and not to favour any party, nor to protect any not associated with you; and furthermore, that the garrisons of Dorset and Wiltshire be put into your hands, till the King and Parliament agree to their disposal:—to grant these were to acquit part of the trust reposed in them by the kingdom. But as far as you declare grievances of plunder and violence, committed by garrisons or armies, I promise and undertake, that, whatever disorders are committed, justice shall be done and satisfaction given; and I desire that in publishing this my answer to your petition, all assembly of public rendezvous may be forborne, and that the country may be acquainted therewith.

"THOMAS FAIRFAX."

Defeat of the Royalists, under Goring: Fairfax lays siege to Bridgwater.

The General removed his head-quarters from Dorchester to Beaminster, where he heard that Goring had raised his siege of Taunton, and had marched in the direction of Langport and Somerton. Fairfax accordingly advanced to Crewkerne, where Colonel Fleetwood with the advance fell upon the Royal horse, commanded by Lieutenant-General Porter, near Petherton Bridge, in the valley of the Parrett, and routed them. The following day Goring was encountered near Langport by Major-General Massey; whereupon the General and Cromwell rode forward to the field, where they found the forces on both sides drawn up in *battaglia*, and the cannon on both sides already in action. The musketeers were engaged from hedge to hedge; and the horse charged each other valiantly. But in the end the Royalists were obliged to draw off, and were pursued to within two miles of Bridgwater, leaving behind

them 2500 prisoners of horse and foot. Cromwell afterwards came upon the ordnance as it was quitting Langport, and captured it. Goring, after spending the night at Bridgwater, retired the next day to Barnstaple, leaving behind him cannon, ammunition, and carriages, and many soldiers in utter disorder, who, together with Prince Rupert's regiment and Sir Lewis Dives' horse, were left without any commander. The defeat therefore was really no less than a disruption of the entire Western army; and the unfortunate stragglers and wearied soldiers were knocked on the head by "the Club-men," who infested the line of march of the Royalists, but whose leader, Hollis, was committed by Fairfax for his insolence and insubordination towards him. The gates of Bridgwater were however kept closed, and defied the General; who accordingly took up his head-quarters at Chedzoy, two miles from the town, and made preparations to carry it by assault. The fortifications were regular and strong, with a very deep ditch, about thirty feet wide, which, at every tide, was filled to the brim with water. The troops that lined the walls were in number about 1800, with about forty pieces of ordnance; and the place was well stored with ammunition and victuals; so that had Lord Goring remained with his army it might have offered a good resistance; but Windham, the Governor, had nothing to rely upon from the heterogeneous medley that composed his garrison. 1645.

Assault and capture of Bridgwater, 23rd July.

At two in the morning of the 22nd July the General ordered the assault. General Hammond, the Engineer (or as he was termed the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance) had provided eight bridges, about thirty or forty feet in length, to be carried down by the soldiers to cross the ditch. These being dragged down were thrown in, and the advance passed across, and with great courage mounted the works and reached the drawbridge, which they lowered for the rest of the division to enter. The garrison, however,

1645. barricaded the streets, and withdrew into the Castle, raising the bridge as they entered. The General, hoping that his success might have its effect, renewed his summons to the Governor to surrender; but he peremptorily refused; and accordingly preparations were immediately made to storm the Castle on the other side. The cannon opened fiercely on the town, setting fire to many houses, and creating so much alarm among the inhabitants, that Windham sent forth a messenger with his own terms, which Fairfax in substance conceded; and the town was surrendered on the 23rd; and 1000 officers and soldiers, together with the clergy and gentry of the district, marched out as prisoners of war. There were found in the place, besides military stores, goods of great value that had been carried for security into that place; so that Fairfax complimented his men with a donation of 5*s*. apiece for their good service in the storming.

Bath taken, 29th July. Some hesitation was now felt as to the most advisable course of future operations. The army was in some need of rest; and Fairfax thought that the insolence of "the Club-men" required curbing, more especially as they received encouragement from the Royalist garrison at Sherborne Castle, where Sir Lewis Dives, an active enemy and resolute soldier, commanded for the King. At a Council of War, however, it was resolved to follow after Lord Goring, and to prevent him from rallying his shattered forces. And with this view the army was put in motion the following day. They had only made one day's march, however, in a westerly direction, before the General reflected that it was unwise to proceed further while Bath, and Bristol, and Sherborne remained behind them garrisoned for the King; and that it behoved him, before proceeding further West, to reduce them, and at the same time bring the disaffected "Club-men" to a better obedience. He accordingly marched back to Wells, and sent in advance Colonel

Rich, with a body of horse, to reconnoitre the state of affairs in the city of Bath. This officer managed affairs so well, that on the 29th July he got into the place, making 140 men and the Governor prisoners. He continued this course with so much address and expedition that he only just anticipated the arrival of Prince Rupert with 1500 men, who had advanced within four miles of the city for its relief. 1645.

Cromwell disperses "the Club-men."

Leaving, therefore, Bath in security, the General halted his army at Wells, while he and Cromwell rode to reconnoitre the Castle at Sherborne; and, having satisfied themselves that its capture was practicable, orders were immediately issued to prepare for a close siege. Intelligence, however, now came in that "the Club-men" of the three counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset were up in arms, to the number of 10,000 men, at Hambleton Hill, near Shaftesbury. The Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with a party of horse, went to meet them; who, partly by words and partly with the aid of his troops, dispersed the whole *posse*, killing some, and wounding about 200 of them, and taking many prisoners, with their standard, that bore this device,

> "If you plunder or take our cattle,
> Be assured that we will bid you battle."

Fairfax takes Sherborne, 15th Aug.

In the meanwhile Fairfax had mounted his guns, and opened them upon Sherborne Castle, but could not make a practicable breach until the 14th August, which, after the summons had been refused, was successfully assaulted and carried the following morning, when Sir Lewis Dives, and 400 in garrison, became prisoners of war, and the soldiers obtained great booty.

Bristol besieged by the forces of the Parliament.

A new Council of War was now called to determine whether to proceed against Bristol, which it was supposed was powerfully garrisoned and prepared against a siege, under Prince Rupert, or to proceed

1645. towards Plymouth, then beleaguered by the Royalists, under the presence of the Prince of Wales. After much discussion, in which the imminent hazard of the plague then raging inside the place was urged as a reason for not undertaking the siege of Bristol, it was resolved to march thither in order to its reduction, when the General said to his military Counsellors;—"To make Bristol our next design is the greatest service we can render; and as for the sickness, let us trust God with the army, who will be as ready to protect us from infection as from a bullet in the field." The head-quarters were accordingly carried forward to Shepton-Mallet; and Commissary-General Ireton was sent to expedite the siege, while messengers were despatched to the Vice-Admiral of the Parliament at Milford Haven, to send ships of war to the King's Road, to block up the harbour of Bristol from the sea.

Cromwell and Fairfax summon Bristol to surrender, 21st Aug.: Rupert's reply: the city capitulates, 11th Sept.

On the 21st August the General and Lieutenant-General viewed the town; and the head-quarters were placed at Hanham, three miles from the walls, and advanced on the 23rd to Stapleton, a mile nearer. From the 21st August to the 1st September, Prince Rupert, with his accustomed impulse, made no fewer than six sorties from the city; but with so little effect, that it was resolved in a Council of War on the 2nd to attempt a storm, previous to which a summons was sent to the Prince on the 4th. The trumpeter who carried it was detained all night, and all was perfectly quiet on both sides through the 5th, until the trumpeter brought back this reply to the General:—

"Sir, I received yours by the trumpeter. I desire to know whether you will give me leave to send a messenger to the King to know his pleasure in it.

"RUPERT."

This was so very different a sort of answer from that which is usually returned to a hostile summons, that Sir Thomas Fairfax sent on the 6th for

a more positive answer: the trumpeter was again detained all that night. Every thing was therefore prepared for a storm; the General was in the field superintending the preparations with his own eyes. The soldiers had their faggots on their backs, ready for a start; but no orders were issued until Sunday the 7th, in the forenoon, when the trumpeter returned with propositions from the Prince. The General returned an answer, which in the main accepted them, "presently after dinner," by the same trumpeter; who, however, brought back such a hesitating acceptance of what the General had proposed that, after some intermediate exchange of letters, at two in the morning of Wednesday the 10th, the signal was made for an assault, and Sir Hardresse Waller, Colonels Montague and Rainsborough, and Major-General Skippon, at the head of their respective columns, advanced to the points allotted to each, while the seamen stormed on the side of the tide. After each had obtained some success, Pryarshill Fort yielded to Rainsborough. And before day broke the Prince again desired a parley, which ended in a full surrender, and Bristol was delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax on Thursday, the 11th September; and the General and Lieutenant-General removed and placed their head-quarters in that city the same night. 1645.

Another Council of War was now held:—and it is to be remarked, that Councils of War were continually held while Cromwell remained with the army, since in them his voice was equal with the General; while in quality of Member of Parliament he wrote the accounts of them to the House of Commons, which were always presented to that assembly with fitting compliments and remarks by Hugh Peters. This, however, was the last of these Councils; for it was determined that Oliver Cromwell should command a detached force, while Fairfax went into the Far West to look after Plymouth and Lord Goring. The General, therefore, removed to Bath, intending to take the rest he needed

Fairfax marches to the West: defeat of the Parliamentarians near Honiton by Goring, 14th Oct.: siege and capture of Tiverton.

1645. — after the incessant operations of the last two months; and he also deemed it prudent to be at hand while Cromwell proceeded to besiege Devizes and Winchester, with a brigade consisting of Hardresse Waller's, Montague's, and Picking's regiments. In the meanwhile Colonel Rainsborough, with another brigade, consisting of Skippon's, Herbert's, and Pride's regiments, marched against Berkeley Castle, already closely blockaded by the Parliamentary horse. This Castle was deemed a place of great strength, was under the command of Sir Charles Lucas as Governor, and was well victualled and manned. As soon as the General heard that Devizes was taken, he, on the 23rd, rode from Bath to see the garrison march forth. His troops had in the meantime marched to Warminster, where Sir Thomas Fairfax joined them; and on the 27th, having received Rainsborough's report of the capture of Berkeley Castle, he ordered him to join him at Warminster, from whence he marched on the 30th to Shaftesbury. The reason assigned for his lingering in these parts was, the necessity of awaiting the arrival of treasure to pay his troops, who, being wholly without pay, were disposed to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, very much to the prejudice of their discipline, and very greatly to the dissatisfaction of the country. While he remained in Dorsetshire he heard of the King's defeat at Rowton Heath, and of the reduction of Winchester by Cromwell. It was the 11th of October before the expected treasure reached Chard; and all arrears having been paid up, the army was marched on the 14th to Honiton, where Lord Goring came upon them in a *camisado* in the night, falling upon the cantonments, and capturing some 100 prisoners. The next day at Cullumpton the outposts of the Royalists, under Lord Miller, were encountered and driven back to Tiverton, whither the General directed Massey, with his horse and Weldon's brigade of foot, to proceed, with orders to obtain possession of the

Castle. Fairfax found, however, that he could not induce the enemy to leave Exeter without turning their position up the course of the Exe river; and accordingly, leaving a force to make a demonstration towards that city, he moved northwards; but when he received Massey's report of the strength of the works at Tiverton, he himself went thither to view them on the 18th. By the capture of a spy, he found that Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Governor, purposed to hold out, in the hopes of obtaining relief from Sir John Berkeley at Exeter. It was therefore resolved to storm; and the batteries opened with considerable effect, under which the troops were put in motion. But on approaching the drawbridge a round shot cut the chain in two, and the bridge fell down; on which the troops instantly rushed forward, and crossing sword in hand, the garrison called for quarter. The army was forthwith marched down the valley of the Exe as far as Silverton, seven miles from the city, where the General took counsel whether it were better to proceed without any further loss of time to relieve Plymouth, and to leave so considerable a place as Exeter behind them, or to besiege that city. The latter course was adopted; and on the 21st Fairfax went in person to reconnoitre the defences, after which he ordered his army to cross the Exe, and occupy Newton St. Cyres, while he placed his head-quarters at Crediton. But here he heard of various successes of the Parliamentary forces, while he was joined by Cromwell in person, bearing the news of his own good fortune at Basing House and Winchester. On the 25th a Council of War was called; and, as the defences of Exeter appeared strong and the place well-garrisoned, after much dispute the resolution was adopted of carrying back the army across the Exe to Topsham, in order to block up the city till it could be invested in form. With this view a bridge was thrown over at Alphington, and the army was put into cantonments, establishing fortified posts upon the Exe at Stokebridge and Bishop's Clysse, 1645.

1645. — and placing head-quarters at Sir John Bamfield's house at Poltimore. On the 29th, while at St. Mary's, a trumpet arrived to the General from the Prince of Wales, desiring a pass for the Lords Hopton and Colepepper to go to the King on negotiations for peace. But Fairfax replied, that he could not intermeddle with such matters, and had therefore sent the letter to the Parliament. On the 12th November a letter from the Lord Goring was brought in by a trumpet to demand an interview with two gentlemen on his behalf; to this the General acceded, and Colonels Scroop and Philips came to head-quarters, where they were informed that if they had any thing to say concerning the surrender of Exeter, or the disbanding of armies, Sir Thomas Fairfax would hear them—otherwise not. Accordingly they returned for fresh instructions to Exeter without seeing the General.

Valuable decoration presented to Fairfax by the House of Commons: he takes Dartmouth, 18th Jan. 1646.

The General continued at Poltimore till the 2nd December, in which interval a deputation of members of the House of Commons arrived from London to wait upon him with a rich jewel of diamonds of great value, which, by the command of the Government, they attached to a blue ribbon, and put it about his neck, in testimony of the service he had rendered the Parliament by his victory at Naseby. Disease now affected the troops, and this was a cause of considerable anxiety to the General; so that the resolution was taken of making a change in their cantonments; and the head-quarters were taken again to Tiverton, and Sir Hardresse Waller was advanced to Crediton. At the same time information came in from Plymouth that it was well reported there that a great attempt was about to be made under the Prince of Wales in person to relieve Exeter: and accordingly two more regiments were sent to strengthen Crediton, and on the 26th the whole army was drawn up on Cadbury Hill. Upon the further resolution being adopted, of advancing against the enemy, the Lieutenant-General in person

fell on their outposts at Bovey Tracey, and took about 400 horse prisoners. The General now proceeded by Ashburton and Totnes, and opened direct communication with the long-beleaguered garrison of Plymouth, and then spread his forces across the whole district from Tavistock on the right to Dartmouth on the left. which latter place was carried by storm on the 18th. The Royalists rose in great disorder from their siege of Plymouth, leaving their guns and ammunition behind them. This sudden inroad upon his adversary, to clear the ground from all further apprehensions of disturbance in his besieging Exeter, was a real piece of good generalship in Fairfax; and having accomplished that object, and the relief of Plymouth, he was now enabled to return, and to employ at more leisure during the winter season the most vigorous endeavours against the city. Sir John Berkeley, the Governor, was again summoned on the 17th January, 1646, but sent the accustomed answer of defiance. On the 29th the General was, however, again disturbed by the report that Lord Goring's army had once more come up to Barnstaple, designing to give the hand to a body of the King's horse from Oxford. This almost induced His Excellency to attempt to secure Exeter by a storm, and even warrants were issued to obtain ladders for the purpose. But on the 8th February a Council of War determined to stop the further prosecution of the siege for a second time, and to march the army towards Barnstaple and Torrington, leaving a body of troops under Sir Hardresse Waller to keep as close an investment of the works about Exeter as was practicable with the force employed. On the other hand advices came in that Colonel Hammond had reduced Powderham Castle; so that Exeter was more than ever straitened and blocked up on all sides. 1646.

Torrington is taken, 16th Feb.

On the 16th February the army encountered the enemy nearly five miles from Torrington, about seven o'clock in the morning, and a good deal of

1646. fighting ensued throughout the day; when the General, seeing, as he thought, reason for his rashness, ordered a forlorn hope to force their way into the town itself, which he supported with both horse and foot, who pushed the enemy within their barricades, and finally drove them through the town. Lord Hopton was himself unhorsed in the fight; but before he quitted the town he suborned a man with a present of money to fire the magazine, which was near the church, and contained some fourscore barrels of powder, which exploded with such a blast as to destroy the church, and to shake and shatter a great portion of the town. Two or three hundred men of either side were blown up, and the wretch who applied the match was dragged out of the ruins he had himself occasioned. The General placed his head-quarters at Mr. Rolls's house at Stephenson, seeing there was not a single house left wind and water tight for his accommodation in Torrington. The advance was sent forward next day to Holdsworth, to pursue the fugitives and watch their motions. On the 23rd part of the army moved to Holdsworth, and the remainder, in two columns, to Bideford and Tavistock, to flank the main line of march. As they moved forward they encountered and dispersed the enemy both at Stratton and Tamerton: and on the 25th the General established his head-quarters at Launceston, and the right column reached Camelford. On the 1st March the Royalists quitted Bodmin, where head-quarters were placed on the 2nd; and Fairfax was now met with offers of their surrender. But it was not until the 14th that articles were drawn up, and the entire force of the King's troops was forthwith disbanded.

Surrender of Exeter, 31st May.

The whole field force of the enemy being thus driven out of this western extremity of the kingdom, orders were issued immediately for the return of the army eastward. But while they were making their way by easy marches, Fairfax and Cromwell settled with

the Cornwall and Devon gentry about the defensive posture of those counties against any possible invasion from France or elsewhere. On the 30th head-quarters were re-established within sight of Exeter; and a summons sent in to the city the following day was accepted; but it was not, until the 7th April that the Parliament got possession of the stronghold. 1646.

On the 18th April, leaving Hammond in command of a sufficient garrison, Fairfax began his march towards Oxford; but on his arrival at Newbury he received intelligence of the King's escape in disguise, no one at the time knowing whither. The Princes Rupert and Maurice, with many of the nobility and gentry of England, were still inside the city, holding it for His Majesty; and accordingly the army pursued their intention of sitting down before it, and besieging it. A summons sent in for a surrender was answered by Sir Thomas Gresham, as Governor, who proposed to send out Commissioners to Fairfax, and considerable time was spent in the settlement of details, so that it was the 20th June before the treaty for the surrender was finished; and it was the 24th before the King's garrison marched out to the number of 3000 persons, well armed, with colours flying and drums beating. Banbury Castle was next invested, and surrendered; Worcester followed on the 19th July, and Wallingford on the 22nd.

Oxford taken 24th June; and Worcester, 19th July; and Wallingford, 22nd.

And now, there being no enemy either in field or garrison, the army soon began to be disbanded; and after their work was accomplished it pleased God to visit Fairfax with a sore fit of the stone, which detained him for some time from repairing to London, where, however, he was received on the 12th November with the highest honours. The principal inhabitants came forth to meet the General as he approached the metropolis, and conducted him to his lodgings. Both Houses of Parliament met, and passed votes of thanks for his eminent services; and the following day both

Fairfax's triumphant reception in London, 12th Nov.: rich rewards bestowed upon him for his services.

1646. Peers and Commons waited upon him in form; while the Lord Mayor and Aldermen came in full state and offered him another jewel, which Fairfax thought fit to decline. Munificent pecuniary rewards were, however, showered upon him; 5000*l.* a year was settled on him and his heirs; and afterwards 4000*l.* a year was allotted to him out of the Duke of Buckingham's estate. The Parliament also gave him 10,000*l.* in money.

Fairfax, on his way to the North, falls in with the King, and pays his respects to him: the Sidneys sent to Ireland.

He had hardly rested from his labours in the command of the army when he was called upon to carry up, with a convoy of troops, the sum of 200,000*l.*, that had been granted to the Scottish army as the price of their delivering up their Sovereign King Charles; and on the 18th he commenced a tedious winter march of nearly 200 miles, with six regiments of horse and foot, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where some of the *patriots* received the cash. As Fairfax was marching beyond Nottingham he met the King on his way to Holmby, on February 15th; and His Majesty stopping his horse, Sir Thomas alighted and kissed his hand with all respect and reverence, when, again mounting his horse, he accompanied the King, and discoursed with him as they rode along. As the Parliamentary army was now reduced to its lowest numbers, it may be stated that Algernon Sidney's regiment was ordered to Ireland, and Sir Thomas Fairfax obtained for him from the Parliament, in January 1647, a donation of 2000*l.*, and permission to absent himself from his Parliamentary attendance. Accordingly, in the teeth of "the Self-denying Ordinance," while his brother Philip, Lord Lisle was appointed by Parliament Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his brother Algernon was named Lieutenant-General of horse in that kingdom and Governor of Dublin. Thus Ireland in the hands of the Sidneys, and England in that of Sir Thomas Fairfax, were firmly held by Cromwell, who governed both.

On Fairfax's return to London he was voted, after a long debate, General of all the forces of the Parliament that were to be continued. Cromwell, however, taking counsel with his son-in-law Ireton, saw an influence in the path of his ambition that disconcerted him; and, since he could not command influence enough in the House to put Fairfax aside, he and Ireton laid their heads together to raise a kind of mutiny in the army against the Parliament, that they might be upon a nearer level with their masters: the army was persuaded to make choice of a number of such officers as they liked, which they called "The General's Council of Officers," which were to resemble the House of Peers; and the common soldiers selected three or four sergeants or corporals from each regiment, who were called "Agitators," as a sort of House of Commons. These representatives met severally, and, after some mutual messages and conferences, they resolved and declared in the first place,—"that they would not be divided or disbanded until their full arrears were paid, and before full provision was made for liberty of conscience." In vain they were admonished by their Puritanical masters to practise St. John Baptist's lesson, "Do violence to no man, and be content with your wages." They replied that "this was the ground of the quarrel, for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men than ever had been in the King's government, when the Bishops were their judges." The Parliament declared this Council to be enemies to the State, and caused some of those who talked loudest to be imprisoned. Hereupon the General was prevailed upon to write a letter, which was shown to the House. This manner of proceeding of their General troubled the Parliament. Sir Thomas saw with uneasiness his own power usurped in a great

1647.

Intrigue of Cromwell and Ireton against Fairfax: "the Agitators."

1647. measure by these "agitators," yet he was overpersuaded to join in the petitions and proceedings of the army that now tended to destroy the Parliament's power.

Cromwell disconcerts the design of the Parliament to send him to the Tower: Cornet Joyce seizes the person of the King, 3rd June.

Cromwell in the mean time carried himself with rare dissimulation, seeming to be incensed against the soldiers; but it was plainly discerned that the most active officers and "agitators" were his own creatures. Accordingly it was at this time resolved privately by the principal leaders of the Commons to have him sent to the Tower; for they felt that if they could once sever him from Fairfax they should easily reduce the army; for they had not the least jealousy of their General, but saw that Cromwell had the ascendancy over him. The attempt to seize Oliver was, however, discovered by him, and he kept out of the way, and went to the army, from whence he wrote to the Speaker, recommending a general rendezvous of the army at the discretion of the General. About the beginning of June, therefore, Fairfax advanced the army towards London, notwithstanding that both Houses desired that it might not come within fifteen miles of their sittings. At this same time Cornet Joyce, who was one of the "agitators" in the army, a tailor by trade, took fifty horse to Holmby on the 3rd, about break of day, and passed through the guard of horse and foot that waited about the King, and without more ado commanded His Majesty to enter a coach which he had provided, attended by the few servants who were about him, and in this way carried the person of the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and conveyed his sacred charge to Newmarket. The news of this event was received at Westminster with all imaginable consternation; nor were they at more ease when they received their General's letter, which informed them "that the soldiers had brought the King from Holmby, and he protested that his removal was without his consent, or that of the officers about him, and without his desire or privity; but that they might rest as-

sured that all care should be taken for His Majesty's security." 1647.

Ascendancy of Cromwell over Fairfax: triumphal entry of the latter into London, 5th Aug.

It was well-nigh a full year since the King had delivered himself up to the Scotch army at Newark, from whence he had been removed to Newcastle, where he had continued till the 30th January, and had been delivered up to Fairfax for the 200,000*l.* "siller" duly paid down by him in full; he was conducted from thence to take up his abode at Holmby on the 16th February; and it was now the 3rd June when Cornet Joyce removed him from Holmby to the camp of the army at Newmarket. It is very generally allowed that, although Sir Thomas Fairfax did really take possession of the King's person as General-in-Chief of the army, he was neither an active nor a consenting party to this act of Cornet Joyce, and even disapproved of it. But while every one affected astonishment at the enterprise, and no one knew who had authorized it, Cromwell arrived from London at the camp, with Ireton, and put an end to all further doubt on the subject. Fairfax had neither the talent himself for cabal, nor the penetration to discover the cabals of others, and therefore gave his undoubting confidence to Oliver, who had always been his friend, and by the best seeming pretences and by the show of an open sincerity and scrupulous conscience, imposed upon the easy nature of our brave and virtuous soldier. From henceforth it is scarcely worth while to follow our hero through all the mazes of a political career which was completely a bewilderment to himself; and although he was re-affirmed General of all the land forces in England, Wales, and the Isles, on the 20th July, and as such entered London on the 5th August, at the head of his victorious army, with laurel in their caps as conquerors, yet he was no longer acting in his true character, but under the influence of the master-minds who now directed the State, of whom Cromwell had without question already risen to be the chief. For

1647. during the remainder of the year 1647 we always find Fairfax in or about London, still at the head of the army, and nominally its mouthpiece, but without the will or resolution to oppose the power which he beheld with uneasiness in the strong hands of the "agitators."

1648. Fairfax succeeds to his father's titles and estates: made a tool of by Cromwell: suppresses an insurrection in Kent: takes Maidstone, 31st May.

On the 13th March, 1648, his father died at York, and Fairfax became possessed of the paternal title and estate, and was appointed by the Parliament to the office of Keeper of Pontefract Castle, and Custos Rotulorum of Yorkshire, which had been held by the Lord Fairfax, and in a short time subsequently Constable of the Tower of London. But nevertheless he continued to act as the servile and deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. On the 1st April he was ordered to carry his army to the North, to quell the Royalist insurrection at Berwick and Carlisle, and to repossess himself of those places, so as to prevent the danger from the threatened invasion of the Scots; but he was recalled within a few days to put down an insurrection in Kent. The King had always many friends in the Home Counties, but while the army was in or about London they were kept in awe. But now that the General was gone northwards, the cry was raised "For God, King Charles, and Kent," and a tumult arose, which was suppressed and indicted: but the Grand Jury of the County refused to find a Bill. The malcontents were headed by George Goring Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller, and on the 29th May they had embodied a force with which they marched towards Blackheath. Fairfax, however, was soon back and upon them, and they fled to Maidstone, which town the General attacked and carried so vigorously that he slew some, and took many prisoners. The Earl of Norwich found means to cross the Thames, and with many friends passed into Essex. This county was of the same mind with Kent, and rose under Sir Charles Lucas and Sir Bernard Gascoigne; while Lord Capel was also out in Hertfordshire. The General remained

in Kent no longer than was necessary, and then he crossed the Thames in June, 1648, but not before Lord Capel had effected a junction of his troops with those of Sir Charles Lucas, who threw themselves behind some hastily-constructed field-works at Colchester. Here they resolved to defend themselves, and to wait the event of affairs in other counties, and particularly in the North. 1648.

Fairfax lays siege to Colchester: commotions in London, and in Wales: revolt of the fleet.

In the meanwhile a tumult broke out in London, where a factious cry "For God and King Charles" reached such a pitch that the General was recalled to London with two regiments, and so resolutely attacked the insurgents when they least expected it, that, though they made an obstinate resistance, they were at length dispersed. An insurrection also broke out in Wales, which Cromwell came back from the North to suppress, and this left the Scots leisure to prepare a concurrent inroad into England. Sir Marmaduke Langdale aided this by making himself master of Berwick, while Musgrave seized upon Carlisle, whither all the Royalists in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, came to join them. It was just at this time that the fleet revolted, and was carried across to Holland, where they put themselves under the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. While matters were in this state of confusion—the Scotch army preparing to enter England, Cromwell occupied in South Wales, and Fairfax employed in the blockade of Colchester—a somewhat singular project broke out in favour of the King at Kingston-upon-Thames, in which Richard Earl of Holland, young Villiers Duke of Buckingham, and his brother Mordaunt Earl of Peterborough, and Compton Earl of Northampton, joined together some troops. These were, however, met by two regiments under Colonel Levesey, who being quartered in Westminster, immediately advanced and routed the insurgents. Fairfax, on hearing of this outbreak, sent Colonel Scroop with a regiment of horse from Colchester to the assistance of the Parliamentary troops, and these sur-

1648 — prised the fugitives at St. Neots, where Lord Francis Villiers was slain, and the Earl of Holland taken prisoner and committed to Warwick Castle.

Rout of the Scots by Cromwell, 17—19th Aug.: Colchester surrenders, 27th Aug.: execution of the Royalist officers.

At length, on the 9th July, the Scots entered England at the head of an army; but Cromwell fell upon them on the 17th, 18th, and 19th August; and a *coup de grace* was given them a few days later by General Lambert at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where Duke Hamilton was taken prisoner, with all the officers about him; and of the whole army only the horse escaped. This defeat of the Scotch army was followed on the 27th by the capture of Colchester, the blockade of which had now lasted above two months. The noble persons in command there knew well that there could no longer be any prospect of relief, nor could they subsist any longer in expectation of it. Being pressed therefore with want of all kinds of victual, and having eaten nearly all their horses, they sent out to Fairfax to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions. But he refused to give any conditions to the officers and gentlemen, whom he required to submit to his mercy; as for the common soldiers, he said he was ready to dismiss them to their homes. After a day or two spent in deliberations, they delivered themselves up prisoners at the General's mercy, and they were all forthwith conducted into the public Hall of the town, where they were locked up, and a strong guard was placed over them. They were required presently to send in a list of their names; and after they had done so a guard was sent to conduct Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne to the General, sitting with a Council of War. After some short discourse they were told, "that after so long and so obstinate a defence, until they were obliged to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that an example should be made; the Council therefore had determined that they three should be

shot to death." These three had been selected as being each of the degree of a Knight, of which rank they desired to make a sacrifice. Nevertheless, Goring Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, Hastings, Lord Loughborough, Sir William Compton, Sir Abraham Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodough Dyer, Sir Henry Appleton, Sir Dennard Strutt, Sir Hugh Orriley, Sir Richard Mauleverer, ten Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, seventy-two Lieutenants, sixty-nine Cornets or Ensigns, and sixty-five gentlemen, were all fellow prisoners, and these were so infinitely afflicted with the news of this cruel resolve, that they signed a letter which they had carried to the General, desiring "either that he would forbear this unjust execution, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same sentence with them." This letter was delivered, but it had no other effect than the speedy sending to despatch the condemned. 1648.

Remission of the sentence on Sir B. Gascoigne: grief of the King at Sir C. Lucas's fate.

Sir Bernard Guascone, whose name had been anglicized into Gascoigne, was a gentleman of Florence, who, out of gallantry, had voluntered his service to the King. He only spoke just English enough to make himself understood; but asked for, and with some difficulty obtained, pen, ink, and paper, to write a letter to his Prince, the Great Duke of Florence, that His Highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end that his heirs might possess his estate. This letter was carried to the Council, who had condemned him in ignorance that he was a foreigner; and they now came to the determination to spare his life. On the 28th August Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, were led to execution. Sir Charles was their first victim. He had been a stout soldier though somewhat of a strict disciplinarian, and had signalized himself at Newbury and other actions of the war. He was regarded as a man who would never take occasion of

1648. — a fallen enemy; and no one more ready to give the quarter which was refused himself in this day of his distress. He had asked a day's respite to prepare for death, which was refused him; and he now suffered with the cheerful and becoming courage of a soldier and a Christian. His faithful servant, who was a sorrowful spectator of his death, begged the executioners with great earnestness to despatch him also, as his life was now become his torment. As soon as Lucas fell dead, Sir George Lisle ran up to the body, which he embraced and kissed, and then immediately presented himself to the soldiers who were ready for his execution. Thinking that they stood at too great a distance, he spoke to them to come nearer, when one of them answered, "I'll warrant you we'll hit you." Lisle smilingly replied, "I have been nearer to you, when you have missed me." He had been an old soldier of the wars in the Netherlands, and had distinguished himself upon many occasions in the course of the Civil War, and particularly at the second battle of Newbury, where in the dusk of the evening he led his men to the charge in his shirt, that his person might be the more conspicuous. The King, who was an eye witness of this act of bravery, had knighted him on the spot. Sir Bernard now doffed his doublet, and expected the next turn; but the officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his friends." Soon afterwards a gentleman appearing in His Majesty's presence clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas, that kind-hearted monarch, suddenly recalling the hard fate of his friends amidst his own deep misfortunes, paid them a tribute which none of his own sufferings ever extorted from him,—he burst into an uncontrollable flood of tears.

Reflections upon the penalty incurred for the crime of High Treason:

Clarendon remarks that "the manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous;" but under favour of the noble historian it was neither "new" nor "without example," however

"barbarous" it may be admitted to be. Even the solemn sentence of a Court of Justice for offences less than high treason and a settled contempt of authority has been but seldom remitted, or relaxed, within my own recollection; and it must be remembered that in war there enters into the case fiercer passions of hatred and revenge, such as have no place on the Bench of Justice. Moreover in Civil War these angry passions are deeply felt and intensely aggravated; and at the moment I am writing, half a dozen Baptist preachers, and some hundreds of wretched negroes, have been shot to death in Jamaica by drum-head Court Martial. Their cause was equally the cause of freedom with that involved in our own civil conflict. But with a calmer judgment, we turn to the circumstances of the moment of the surrender of Colchester; there is much that might extenuate, if not altogether excuse, the severity of Fairfax under the conditions of its surrender. The armies had all quitted the capital to put down enemies on every side; and in their absence the Independents in the House of Commons had been forced to succumb to the Presbyterian party, who were at this time the more elated by the invasion of the Scotch army. It was equally the interest of both sects to guard against the Royalists; but so long as they were supported by the army, (from the 6th August, 1647, to the end of May, 1648,) the Independents prevailed in Parliament. Now after the armies had removed from London the Presbyterians prevailed, and availed themselves of their power to pass such votes as were agreeable to their interest; these desired very early to conclude a peace with the King, but upon certain conditions to which no one of years of discretion could have reasonably believed that Charles would have assented. The first was, "that the militia of the kingdom should be put into the hands of both Houses:" the second, "that the Presbyterian Government should be established by authority of King and

1648. — propositions made to the King by the Presbyterians: demand of the army for justice upon him, 23rd Nov.

1648. Parliament:" and the third, "that the King should recall all his proclamations and declarations against the two Houses." The difficulty on the threshold of such a negotiation was the former resolution, "that they would make no more addresses to the King, but settle the Government in such a manner as they should best without him." Advantage was therefore taken of a Presbyterian majority to annul this; and on the 30th May the Commons voted, in despite of the Independent members, to offer His Majesty a treaty. Fairfax had been a party to the former resolution; but as his hands were for the present tied at Colchester, he allowed matters to proceed to what is known in history as "the Conferences of Newport," which continued until the end of November. Cromwell, however, was now coming south again, and from Pontefract he wrote to the General, enclosing petitions from every regiment in his army demanding justice upon the King. The army's remonstrance almost coincided to a day with the King's rejection of the treaty at Newport, namely, the 23rd November, and the Royalists must be put down.

Fairfax causes the King to be removed to Hurst Castle: treatment of the Parliament by the army and the Independent party: determination to bring Charles to trial.

Fairfax accordingly now again started to life, and on the 25th recalled Colonel Hammond, and directed him to remit the custody of the King's person to Colonel Ewers, who was to be better trusted. Whereupon the Commons voted that Colonel Hammond should be required to stay in the Isle of Wight; but they were too late, for the General had already a second time, without the consent or privity of the two Houses, obtained possession of the King's person for the army, and was not disposed to receive any order of Parliament. Indeed of the first order that came from it the General and Council of War took no notice. The General forthwith removed the King to Hurst Castle; of which proceedings the Parliament was not informed till three days afterwards. On the same day a declaration, or manifesto, was addressed by the army, in which they announced that they were drawing up

to London, there to follow Providence as God should clear their way. The General, at the same time, wrote to the City of London, to inform them of the army's advance, and requiring that 40,000*l.* should be provided for them against the next day, in order to restrain all violence. On the 2nd December, Lord Fairfax, with several regiments, came, and head-quarters were taken up in Whitehall. On the 6th, the General sent two regiments to Westminster, who were drawn up in the Court of Requests, on the stairs and in the lobby before the House, under Colonel Pride, who, having a paper of names in his hand, ordered the seizure of one-and-forty members, as they came up, who were kept out of the House under guard. The House sent the Sergeant-at-Arms to order these prisoners to attend the service of the House; but the officer commanding the guard would not let them go. On the following day the members of the House found the doors within and without guarded by soldiers, and above 100 other members were denied admittance. Thus the Independents entirely prevented the Presbyterian party from taking any share in the deliberations of Parliament. On this day Cromwell arrived at Whitehall, sat in the House, and received thanks for his great services. Petitions against the King now multiplied so fast, that scarcely a day passed without one, as well from the counties as from regiments of the army; so that on the 23rd December matters were ripe for the determination to bring the King himself to trial. 1648.

Fairfax withdraws from the proceedings against the King: anecdote from Clarendon's History.

Though Fairfax had been the resolute and unscrupulous coadjutor of his party in all their encroachments upon their adversaries up to this step, yet his nature revolted against the extreme measure now in contemplation. Born a gentleman and a nobleman, and man of condition in social life, he could not gulp the notion of bringing his Sovereign, whom he had all through life addressed with bended knee, to the bar of a subject's judgment. It will be remembered that,

1649. when the Lord-General of the Parliament met the King on the road to the North, with the Scotch army, he dismounted from his horse, and paid the King the courtesy due to his rank. And it is recorded that during the whole time that His Majesty was under his immediate charge at Hampton Court he treated him with becoming respect. Now, therefore, on the 20th January, 1649, when the Act passed for erecting a High Court of Justice to try the King, and naming "Commissioners and Judges for the hearing, trying, and adjudging of the said Charles Stuart, &c.," the first name in the Commission is Thomas Lord Fairfax, colleagued with Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Sir Hardresse Waller, Skippon, and 145 others; yet he is never mentioned as present on the trial; his name was not affixed to the sentence of death, nor is it to be found among the signatures to the warrant for the King's execution. Lord Clarendon records this anecdote with regard to the Lord-General's absence:—"When all who were Commissioners had taken their places on the very first day, and when the King was first brought in, and had sat down, the preliminary ceremony was to read their Commission, which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called; and the President, Bradshaw, being first called, and making answer, the next who was called was General Lord Fairfax; but no answer being made, the officer called him a second time, when there was a voice heard that said, 'He had more wit than to be there,' which put the Court into some disorder; and some one asking who it was, there was no other answer than a little murmuring. But presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, 'of all the good people of England,' the same voice, in a louder tone, answered 'No; nor the hundredth part of them.' Upon which one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered.

It was, however, quickly discerned that it was the General's wife, the Lady Fairfax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings. She was presently persuaded, or forced, to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder." 1649.

Fairfax's character: influence of his wife.

The whole of this passage of Fairfax's history gives a considerable insight into his character. He must have been a very weak man in every relation of social life. The above lady, as will be remembered, although of the noble English extraction of Horatio Lord Vere, had been bred up in Holland, and had no reverence for the Church of England. She it was who urged her husband from the first to concur with the opinions and company of those who blew up the coal of the Great Rebellion. But now she saw enough to abhor the work she had then put in hand, and did all she could to hinder Lord Fairfax from acting any further part in it. Yet he had been so long accustomed to "all the pomp and circumstance of war," and to the consequence and proud position of Lord-General, that although persuaded probably by his wife to abstain from taking further part against the King personally, which accorded with his humour, yet he could not yet lay down his commission. He was voted to be one of the new Council of State on the 14th February, and accepted it, but refused to subscribe the test required, namely,—"That he would be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers."

State of affairs in Ireland; Cromwell sent thither: the "Levellers" are put down by Fairfax: his reception at Oxford, 22nd May.

Fairfax had been by principle a Presbyterian, of which party his lady had been a sworn protectress: but, by being ever the dupe of Cromwell, he had given himself over to do the work of the Independents. He was, however, "already much broken in spirit upon the concurrence to which he had been drawn, and declared some bitterness against the persons who had led him to it." Honour, however, still accompanied the Lord-General. On the 22nd of the same month he repaired to Oxford, where he was sumptuously entertained, and

1649. had an honorary degree conferred upon him. The affairs of Ireland again threatened its entire separation from the Commonwealth of England; and no less a person than Cromwell was to be sent over as Lord-Lieutenant, to bring it under obedience. A considerable force under Ireton preceded him, and this circumstance was taken advantage of for fresh dangers against the new Government. Fairfax had still a part to play. A party called "the Levellers," who had very much aided the Independent party in the country, had become dissatisfied at having been now disregarded by them. Cromwell had made use of them to foment the cabals and confederacies of the army, and by his artifices they had been the agents to bring his crooked designs to pass. In the absence of Cromwell out of England they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those concessions by force which had been refused to them on their request; and now they mutinied upon the expectation that, if their colleagues of the army would not join with them on the remembrance of the past, they would not act to oppose and reduce them by force. To that end they assembled at Banbury, Burford, and other places, to the number of 5000 men. The Parliament commanded Lord Fairfax to suppress them; and he, on the 15th May, despatched a force under Reynolds, who unexpectedly fell upon them, and gave them an entire defeat.

Fairfax resigns his commission: Cromwell is appointed Commander-in-Chief in his stead.

On the 7th June, Cromwell, having reduced Ireland to obedience, left the government of it to Ireton, and returned to England. Both he and Fairfax were on that day entertained by the City of London; and the former was presented with a large and weighty basin and ewer of beaten gold, 300*l.* in plate, and 200 broad pieces besides, which Cromwell received.

The new King, Charles the Second, had by this time disembarked in Scotland; and it became indispensable for the Parliament to despatch an army thither to oppose him. The Commons caused Fairfax to be

asked whether he would take upon himself the conduct of this new war. He replied, If the Scots entered England with an army, he would endeavour to repel them. He was now, however, in the hand of the Presbyterians, and at their instigation he declared it to be against his conscience to invade his brethren in Scotland. A show of over-persuasion was attempted by Cromwell, who nevertheless passionately desired to be himself appointed Commander-in-Chief. Fairfax had however now learnt that, being marked as a Presbyterian, the Parliament, which was for the most part Independent, would have no great confidence in him; and he therefore anticipated his fate and sent back his commission to the House, which cheerfully accepted it, but settled an annual pension of 5000*l.* on him in acknowledgment of his services. Cromwell was consequently declared General of the Armies of the Commonwealth in the room of Fairfax. 1649.

Fairfax's private pursuits: his bodily sufferings.

Fairfax, being thus released from all public employment, went and lived quietly at his own house at Nun-Appleton, in Yorkshire. Here he became afflicted with the gout and stone, the pains of which increased considerably upon him; but he endured them with exemplary patience and resignation. Most of his leisure time amidst these sufferings was spent in religious duties and meditations, and a great deal of it in reading, for which he was well qualified by his natural habit and skill in modern languages. He also wrote Memorials of himself, and versified the Psalms of David; but these were probably lost or were not thought deserving of publication. Some "short Memorials written by himself" were published after his death, London, 1699. Lord Fairfax had made an immense collection of MSS., which Walpole alleges that he took as plunder in Scotland.

We now approach the termination of Fairfax's public life; for we are assured that through the entire period of the Protectorate Fairfax avoided intercourse with Oliver's Government, and always earnestly wished

1660. and prayed for the restoration of the Royal Family; so that he was on all occasions looked upon with a jealous eye by his old friend and comrade in arms, the Lord Protector. Upon his death, on the 3rd September, 1658, Fairfax prepared for the consummation he anticipated, although it does not appear that he took any overt act until the 3rd December, when he eagerly seized the first occasion offered him, and turned out at the head of a body of the gentlemen of Yorkshire to support Monk against Lambert. His great reputation and the authority of his name induced a brigade of 1200 horse immediately to quit Lambert's army, and to join him. The consequence was, the disruption of that Republican force, which allowed an easy march into England to General Monk; and Fairfax forthwith raised troops, and, on the first January, 1660, took possession of York. Here a letter was delivered him from the King by Sir Horatio Townshend; and Fairfax would have immediately proclaimed His Majesty: but Monk deemed the act premature, and was disposed to act with more caution—confiding few or none of his intentions to Fairfax,—the gallant Lord therefore dismissed the forces he had collected, and, seeing Monk master of the situation, contented himself with having publicly personated the wishes and desires of the county of York.

He is elected a member of "the Healing Parliament," and waits on Charles II. at the Hague.

He was chosen by the Rump Parliament one of a Council of State of twenty-eight members, of whom Monk likewise was one: but both refused or neglected to take the Abjuration Oath, and accordingly neither sat in it: and a new Council of State, chosen on the 23rd February ensuing, dissolved this Parliament on the 16th March; when Fairfax was elected one of the knights of the county of York in what was termed the Convention or Healing Parliament, which, it was no longer doubted, was to restore the King, and which assembled on the 25th April. A deputation having been named on the 3rd by the new House of Commons, Lord Fairfax was placed at its head, and he waited on Charles II. at the

Hague on the 16th March. He was accompanied by some Presbyterian ministers, and in their name besought the King not to revive the use of the Common Prayer in the chapel, and that the surplice should be discontinued. But though His Majesty received the deputation very graciously, he warmly answered to that point "that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him." 1660.

Lord Fairfax's name is not found by the side of that of Monk in the new Council established by the King; and we now hear of him no more in public life. After the dissolution of the Healing Parliament he retired again to his seat in the country. Here he lived a quiet life till November 12, 1671, when he was carried off after a few days' fever, retaining to the last the same patient endurance of suffering that had previously distinguished him, and an unaffected practice of religious duties. In the last moment of his life he called for a Bible, and, finding that his eyes were growing dim, he repeated aloud from memory the forty-second Psalm. He died in the sixtieth year of his age. 1671. His death, 12th Nov.

Lord Fairfax was, as to his person, tall, but of a gloomy and melancholy disposition. He stammered in his speech, so that he was an indifferent speaker, and was of few words in discourse and council. He was of a meek and mild carriage; but when his judgment and reason were satisfied he was firm and unalterable, and had resolution enough to order things contrary to the judgment of those who took upon themselves to advise him. His valour was unquestionable; and we are told that in the field he appeared so highly transported, that scarcely any one dared speak to him, for he was as one distracted and furious. As a General he was always successful; and his firmness and boldness with his soldiers, which all admire in a leader, probably enabled him to introduce that rigid discipline which qualified him to overcome the headlong bravery of the Cavaliers. This it was that His personal appearance and character.

gave him success in the first action of his renown, the relief of Nantwich in 1643, and secured the victory to him at Marston Moor and Naseby, the crowning glories of the military career of Sir Thomas (Lord) Fairfax.

It has been so much the habit of our native historians to descant upon the merely civil features of the Great Rebellion, that they have not done ample justice, in my opinion, to the military leaders of that conflict. Fairfax, for example, has been somewhat cast into shade by the overpowering bulk of his great friend and associate, Oliver Cromwell, and has been simply regarded as his creature. Yet he was a General of considerable renown, who held the supreme power of the sword in his hands, which, amid the clash of bitter partisans, he might have readily employed for his own advancement. That he did not do so, did not evince any apprehension of failure, for he never appears to have entertained the slightest ambition of success. Fairfax seems to have been a fair example of a character which limited the object of his life to a rigid sense of his duty as a man and a soldier. Macaulay is pleased to regard him as "a man of mean understanding, and irresolute," which, it may be remarked in passing, was not in the remotest degree the character of Fairfax. He belonged to a class of men rarely found in history but in the Anglo-Saxon blood. One, whose end and aim was, to fulfil his duty to his generation, with no regard to crooked paths to gratify his ambition. He never intrigued with any party during his stormy career. He may have allowed his friend Oliver's ambition to run its own course, but he was not an intentional tool in promoting it. Like a true soldier, he marched, and fought, and conquered, with no other object than to deserve the best and highest attribute of a warrior—the applause of his country [2].

[2] Clarendon, Rapin, Hume, Sprigges, "Anglia Rediviva." S. P. Warwick, Biographical Dictionaries, &c.

JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

A ROYALIST GENERAL.

Born 1612, Died 1650.

THERE is no direct record of the time or place of birth of "the Great Marquis," but an authentic picture by Jameson (who has been styled the Scottish Vandyck), and which is in the family of Carnegie of Southesk, is inscribed "1629, ætatis 17;" whence the date of birth is concluded to be 1612. Unfortunately the name of Montrose is not attached to the picture, so that the evidence is but weak after all: and indeed as it has been for years appropriated to another member of the Southesk ancestry, it would have had no weight at all, but that the year 1629 was the year of his marriage to Mistress Magdalene Carnegie; and it is known that Montrose resided after his marriage in Aberdeen, where Jameson the painter dwelt, and the costume seems to set forth well enough "the boy

1612. Probable date of his birth: his marriage.

1612. — Benedict in his wedding bravery." The year 1612 is at any rate adopted as the year of the birth of Montrose in all his older and more recent biographies.

His early foreign travel.

He succeeded to his father's title in 1626: and, notwithstanding his marriage, as soon as he came of age he left his wife with their three boys in Carnegie's house at Kincaird, and went on foreign travel for the completion of his education: accordingly he was not present with the young quality of Scotland at Charles the First's Coronation at Edinburgh, on the 11th January, 1633.

1636. His personal appearance and characteristics in early life: is appointed to a command in the Scottish guard by Louis XIII.: returns home.

Montrose is thus described by a contemporary at the period of his being on the Continent. He was of a middle stature, with an exceeding strong composition of body, not agile, with well-proportioned limbs, and fine features; his eye inclining to grey, yet quick and penetrating; and his nose high, and rather aquiline; his hair brown, and his complexion sanguine. He was a man of good carriage; and Bishop Burnet adds, "stately to affectation." "He had a singular grace in riding; and in making use of his arms he came short of none." He evidently created a sensation among his contemporaries at Paris, for it is said that Louis XIII. gave him a command in his Scottish guard. He left his name, together with Lord Angus, in the records of the English College at Rome in 1635, and returned to his own country in 1636.

Slighted by the Court, he joined the Covenanters.

There seems to be no doubt that on his first appearance at the King's Court, after his return to Scotland, he was received in a manner so repulsive as to intimate that, whatever might have been his loyalty, though always "true as dial to the sun," yet he was not at this time "shone upon." This was such a turning point of his future character, that it has been noticed by all his biographers, and has been thus explained:—The Marquis of Hamilton was at the head of His Majesty's affairs in Scotland, and Montrose was advised by his friends, as he had desired to put himself in the Royal

service, to apply to that nobleman to introduce and recommend him to the King. Accordingly he came to the Court, and made his compliments to the Marquis, who, knowing the address of the young man, and fearing a competitor in His Majesty's favour, endeavoured to set him against his object by cunningly insinuating that His Majesty was so wholly given up to the English, that he discountenanced and slighted the youth of Scotland. At the same time he set to work to poison Charles's mind against Montrose, by describing him as so popular, and of such esteem among his countrymen by reason of his old descent from the Royal family of Scotland, that it were better to neglect than countenance his ambition, which, if it were not nipped in the bud, might endanger His Majesty's interest in the kingdom. The Earl, however, did not care to leave the Court till he had seen the King; and pressed his suit with so much earnestness, that Hamilton could not deny him. But when he was conducted to the presence, the King, when Montrose kissed His Majesty's hand, turned aside, and took no great notice of him; so that he posted back to Scotland in great disgust. The slighted and romantic young hero, indignant at the coldness of that Royalty which best suited his spirit, hastened back to his own estate, where in the times that shortly ensued he threw himself in anger and despair into the hands of the Covenanters. 1636.

Accordingly Montrose gave in to all the popular notions of the time with the enthusiasm of his character. He was no fanatic; nevertheless he concurred in the opinion that bishops should be excluded from the constitution of the Church of Scotland, but was careless about what should be done to them. It was at a great convention, held on the 15th November, 1637, that Montrose made his first appearance as an opponent of the Court; and he was indeed a member of the Assembly which, in October, 1638, excited the people against the Prelatic order; "But," like Gallio, 1638. Artful and perfidious conduct of the Marquis of Hamilton.

1638. "he cared for none of these things." However, when the Marquis of Hamilton came into Scotland for the purpose of settling that convulsed kingdom, in that same year, Montrose, as a leading organ of the agitation, came in contact again with that nobleman in a singular way. They met at a conference, to which he had been summoned by the King's Commissioners. But after their formal reception, and some words of official courtesy uttered in presence of the Lords of the Council, Hamilton took Montrose and his friends into a corner of the great gallery of Holyrood House, and again endeavoured to mystify his auditory in this strange, and, considering his exalted position, most perfidious language,—"My Lords and Gentlemen: I spake to you before the Lords of the Council as the King's Commissioner. Now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotsman. If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone. A word is enough to wise men."

Montrose signs the Covenant, July: is appointed Commander-in-Chief: is joined by Alexander Leslie, Feb. 1639.

It was in July of that year that Montrose was at Aberdeen as the head of "the Agitators," and publicly signed the Covenant with this subjoined declaration, "Like as we under subscribing do declare; that we neither had nor have any intention but of loyalty to His Majesty as the Covenant bears." From thence he went to meet Hamilton at Edinburgh on his return from Court to call a General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in the month of November; and here Montrose distinguished himself in one of the most factious positions of his early and mistaken career. Matters had already advanced so far, that an appeal to arms became inevitable; and both sides prepared for war, of which circumstances now hastened the crisis. On the 1st February, 1639, Montrose was at Forfar, when intelligence arrived that the Marquis of Huntley had raised the Royal standard in the North, and pro-

posed to hold a muster at Turreff. The Earl, on being informed of this resolution, and "ready at a call," flew over the Grampian hills with such of the cavalry of the Mearns and Angus gentry as were nearest or readiest, and reached Turreff before any of Huntley's people had arrived. Montrose was henceforth formally invested with the title of General Commanding in Chief for the Covenanters in the districts north of the river Forth. Not a shot, however, had yet been fired on either side. Levies of foot were drawn from those counties, trained, and regimented, and put under experienced officers summoned from abroad for that purpose. But the whole force thus placed under the orders of their Commander-in-Chief did not at first exceed 2000. However, a name of some military repute was placed in quality of Adjutant to Montrose,—the renowned Alexander Leslie,—Feldt Maréchal to the King of Sweden. This veteran mercenary of the Thirty Years' War had come home to his native country of Scotland, and being full of military talent, experience, and resources, lent his whole energies to the Covenanters' cause. After some deliberations, negotiations, and capitulations, suddenly the campaign was rendered abortive by the unexpected retreat of Huntley, the Royal Lieutenant; and in March, 1639, Montrose entered Aberdeen with all the triumph of a military parade, decorated with blue cockades, which he had selected for "the Covenanters' ribbon," in opposition to the red cockade, which Huntley had caused his followers to wear as "the Royal ribbon." From this time the Covenanters carried for their colour blue, some wearing scarfs of that colour, and some, throwing away their hats, adopting bonnets with bunches of blue ribbons, as a "whimsie" of Montrose, which soon became famous in story and in song; and many a fair songstress and gallant youth have felt their heart beat high to the strain of "Blue Bonnets over the Border," without knowing why or wherefore[1]. 1639.

[1] Mark Napier.

1639. And now a nobleman comes into story—the rival defeated adversary, enemy, and eventually the executioner, of our hero—Archibald Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl and Marquis of Argyle, one "who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree," says Clarendon, who adds that the "people looked upon Montrose and Argyle as both of them young men of unlimited ambition,—the one of whom would endure no superior, and the other would have no equal."

The Marquis of Argyle: his character.

The Marquis of Huntley is confined, with his eldest son, in the Castle of Edinburgh, 19th April.

Meantime the Marquis of Huntley had withdrawn to Gordon Castle, but still retained a great anxiety to relieve the North from the visitation of the Covenanting army. This army, which remained still at Aberdeen, had been augmented to a force of 9000 men; and Montrose was clearly for the moment master of the situation. The "Committee," however, transacted all business; so that the Earl admitted that he could do nothing of himself. Accordingly on the 11th April a grand conclave was held in Aberdeen, in which the state of the North and the danger of leaving Huntley, who was popularly called the Cock of the North, there behind them if they marched south, was anxiously discussed; and in the result the Earl was directed to send a notice to Huntley to repair to Aberdeen with his two sons—The Lord Gordon and Viscount Aboyne. They were invited to supper the following evening, and the most friendly civilities were exchanged between the two nobles at this repast. When Huntley rose next morning he was surprised at receiving a message from Montrose by the hands of two noblemen, who were sent to attend him to the house of the Earl Marshal; and he was still further alarmed when, on going forth with his two sons, he found his lodging beset with sentinels. Various obligations and new terms were now attempted to be imposed upon Huntley, who indignantly demanded that the terms he had already signed should be returned to him; and these having been delivered to him, the Earl, apparently in the most friendly terms,

thus addressed the Marquis:—"My Lord, seeing we are all now friends, will you go south to Edinburgh with us?" Huntley inquired "whether they would take him to the South as a captive, or willingly of his own mind." Montrose replied, "Make your choice." Then, rejoined the Marquis, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer." The younger son, the Viscount Aboyne, was, however, allowed to return to Strathbogie; but Huntley and his eldest son were carried with the army to the capital, and on the 19th April both were lodged prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh, from whence they were not liberated till the peace of Berwick. 1639.

The sterner moralists of history endeavour with some sophistry to remove from the shoulders of Montrose the odium of this act of duplicity to the Gordons. But whether it were "a Committee" or the more hot-headed partisans of his following, who enforced the deception that brought the Royal Commander into the power of the Covenanters, the Earl, as Commanding General, must bear the entire blame: nor am I willing to allow that there was any very unjustifiable blame to render against Montrose in the matter. He to whom the lives and fortunes of an army are entrusted must act on strategic principles, and ought never to allow an enemy to remain in his rear to jeopardize his base of operations, whatever motives either of policy or of strategy may require his movement at a distance in an opposite direction. The very weakness of allowing the young Lord Aboyne to remain behind soon brought its own punishment, and obliged Montrose to separate from Leslie when the King's forces threatened Scotland with invasion.

The King takes active measures against the Covenanters, May:

A combined operation both by sea and land to reduce the Covenanters to submission was now planned by the King, who commanded the army in person, while the Marquis of Hamilton took sea with an armament of nineteen sail, having on board 5000 soldiers, with an ample supply of money and other munitions of war, and

1639. arrived in the Frith of Forth on the 1st May, 1639. The general alarm and excitement at the arrival of this formidable flotilla so near the capital was intense. Happily the nobleman who was sent in the plenitude of the King's confidence to advance his cause at this juncture was a man who had served with no very great reputation with the heroes of "The Seven Years' War;" and who admitted that he had gained no more from this experience than one proverb in High Dutch, "Ein barmherziger Soldat ist eit Hundsfot vor Gott"—"A soldier with the weakness of mercy, is a rogue in God's repute." Whether it was through his mercy in war, or his incapacity, he now contrived to sacrifice all the advantage that might have been permanently obtained against the Covenanting cause, by bringing with him ships of too great bulk and draught of water for the service required; and he injudiciously divided his force by sending away two regiments to secure the Holy Island, which deprived him of the means of rendering assistance to the King's partisans in the North, which was one of the positive injunctions for his guidance,—"It may be counsellable to send most of your land-men to the North, to strengthen my party there."

Hamilton's incapacity.

The Gordons rally round Lord Aboyne: his interview with the King, and its result.

No sooner had Montrose quitted Aberdeen for the South, than the Gordons, to the number of nearly 2000 horse and foot, rallied round the young Lord Aboyne, and resolved to make head against the Forbeses, Frazers, and Crichtons, who held the county for the Covenanters. But as soon as the friends of the young Viscount saw that they had caused an apprehension amongst their adversaries, they persuaded him to make his way to England, and get speech with the King. In consequence, young Aboyne presented himself, to His Majesty's extreme surprise, at the Royal head quarters on the 8th May, and the King immediately writes to Hamilton that he has seen Lord Aboyne, admitted his propositions, and should "esteem it a very great service if he could uphold any party in

the North." The young hope of the Gordons reached the fleet at its anchorage in very high spirits, fortified with the commission of the King's Lieutenant of the North. But he found that the soldiers were gone elsewhere, by Hamilton's tactics, so that not a company remained that could be spared. 1639.

The Gordons flee from Aberdeen, upon whose inhabitants Montrose levies a heavy fine for harbouring them.

On the first intelligence of the Gordons having risen, the Earl Marshal hastened back to save his lands from pillage. He found that the associated barons of the North, daily expecting to be joined by Aboyne and the Royal auxiliaries, had meanwhile defeated or chased away the Master of Forbes and his Covenanter adherents in a miserable scuffle called "the trot of Turreff." In vain had the gallant barons scattered the Forbeses and the Frazers. Aboyne came not with the hoped-for succours. Montrose quitted Edinburgh on the 18th May; and the Earl Marshal, certain of his early co-operation, marched upon Aberdeen, which he occupied without resistance on the 23rd. The Commanding General, in his usual rapid style, crossed the Grampians at the head of about 4000 troops, bearing a banner inscribed "For Religion, the Covenant, and the Countrie," and followed by a train of field pieces, and had the satisfaction of reconnoitering the host of dissentient barons in full retreat before him. Montrose ordered a fine of 10,000 marks to be levied on Aberdeen for the hospitality it had afforded the Gordons, which was paid into the army chest to the uttermost farthing, for it was the price of his protection from his army's plunder.

Montrose lays siege to Gordon Castle, but retires to Dunottar Castle on hearing of the approach of his adversary's fleet.

After spending five days in the University Town, Montrose marched away his army to Udney on the 30th, and afterwards to Gight (Gordon Castle), to which he laid siege. The place was held by Sir Robert Gordon, who scorned the summons of his formidable adversary, who, on his part, tried in vain to effect a breach in the walls with such artillery as he had with him; but, on receiving notice that a fleet

1639. was in sight off Aberdeen, he hastily returned thither on the 3rd June, as he never doubted but that the young Viscount, as Lieutenant of the North, had brought a well-appointed army at his back. Accordingly, as soon as the fleet was seen to enter the road on the 5th, Montrose marched away in perfect order with his troops and guns, and joined the Earl Marshal, who rested secure in his strong Castle at Dunottar.

Montrose offers battle to the force commanded by Lord Aboyne.

On the 6th June Lord Aboyne, who was but a youth of nineteen years of age, landed at Aberdeen, accompanied by many followers, and was joined there on the 7th by about 1000 horse and foot, with four brass guns, led in by his younger brother, Lord Lewis Gordon, a boy of thirteen years of age, or little more. Amongst others who had accompanied the Viscount, there was a Colonel Gun, who was to aid the young chief with some military experience. Immediately on landing a proclamation was issued, inhibiting all the King's subjects from paying their dues and taxes to the rebels, but forgiving those who had been required, against their will, to take and subscribe the Covenant. But no fresh clans came in to join the cause of the King. This bold step, however, inspired the Royalists with confidence, so that in a short time, what with his father's friends and tenants, the force that was under the orders of the young Viscount ultimately amounted to several thousand men. On the 10th this army quitted Aberdeen, and made a raid into the Earl-Marshal's country, returning back again in three days. But on the 14th they commenced their march in earnest, and moved towards Angus. But they had scarcely commenced their march when they received intelligence that the ubiquitous Montrose was already at Stonehaven on his way to offer them battle.

Lord Aboyne collects his scattered followers.

The Earl-Marshal, with 1200 men, and some guns which he had drawn from his Castle at Dunottar, had placed his men on the direct line of march of Aboyne, upon the Meagre Hill, from whence he opened a heavy

fire as the Royalists descended; and the Highlanders, unaccustomed to the fire of cannon, at once gave way; and in consequence the whole army retreated. Aboyne returned to Aberdeen with some horsemen; but the Highlanders fled away home with all the plunder they were able to collect, according to their invariable custom at this period: this was termed "The Raid of Stonehaven." As soon as the young Viscount reached Aberdeen, it was determined to send agents into the Mearns to collect again the scattered remains of the army; so that in a short time a force mustered at Leggetsden to the number of 4000. 1639.

Montrose, by a stratagem, obtains possession of Aberdeen, 19th June: "Pacification" between the King and the Covenanters: liberation of the Gordons.

Montrose, with the prompt energy to which he owed his constant success, resolved to march again upon the devoted city, and sent forward seven scouts to look after the defeated army. Within six miles of Aberdeen these seven Covenanters encountered seven Cavaliers, one of whom was Colonel Johnston: and there was something knightly and romantic in the conflict that followed, wherein the Gordons were the victors. But Montrose's army of 2000 foot and 300 horse, with a train of artillery, were close behind, and arrived on the 18th at the bridge of Dee, for the defence of which some earthworks had been constructed. Colonel Johnston collected a sufficient force to man them, and here kept Montrose at bay for the entire day, in despite of the guns which tore away the parapets. Johnston boldly responded with the four guns belonging to the Royalists, and defended the bridge with determined bravery all through the following day, when, having been wounded by a stone torn from the bridge by a shot, he was obliged to give up the command. Aboyne had, of course, availed himself of the discomfiture of his opponent by sending up fresh men to defend the bridge; and Montrose, seeing no hope of carrying his point, had recourse to a stratagem, into which his inexperienced antagonist fell.—He ordered a party of horsemen to proceed up the river to some distance,

1639 and to make a demonstration as if to ford or swim the stream. The young Aboyne was completely deceived, and sent the whole of his horsemen from the bridge to dispute the passage of the river: whereupon the Earl gave orders to renew the attack upon the bridge with redoubled energy. Major Middleton led on the assault, and Montrose got possession of Aberdeen on the 19th June. When Aboyne saw the colours of the Covenanters flying on the bridge of Dee, he fled with great haste towards Strathbogie. The loss on either side, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the conflict at the bridge, was trifling.

Montrose established his head-quarters the same night in Aberdeen, but lodged his troops outside in the fields, intending to have the University Town sacked on the morrow *orderly*, that thereafter they should do them *no more cumber*. But on the 20th the Royal letters of Pacification were brought in from Dundee, which the King and his subjects had agreed upon at Berwick on the 18th. Aberdeen was thus spared, for by these articles all the forces in Scotland were to be disbanded and dissolved within forty-eight hours, and all the strong places were to be delivered up to His Majesty. Montrose therefore sent a despatch to the Earl of Seaforth, with his army on the Spey, desiring him to disband his forces with all convenient speed; with which order he instantly complied, and the Marquis of Huntley and his son Lord Gordon were liberated from their confinement in the Castle of Edinburgh.

Conference at Berwick: Montrose is won over by the King, 26th July.

It had been an essential article in the "Pacification," that "to settle the general distractions of the kingdom, a free General Assembly should be held at Edinburgh." There is no doubt, however, that both parties were insincere, and too suspicious of each other's intentions to carry out any favourable result. Already, on the 2nd July, there was "a tumult of wonder" in Edinburgh when the Assembly was proclaimed; and

the King accordingly summoned all whom he thought to be influential individuals of the Covenant party to attend him at Berwick. Only three Commoners and three Lords, Montrose, Lothian, and Rothes, attended: Loudon, Argyle, Lindsay, and the rest of the most forward of the popular faction refused to obey His Majesty's summons. It was at this Conference that Charles, who was exceedingly insinuating and persuasive, made a convert of Montrose. His Kingly presence and noble aspect were never so imposing as when he was beset by difficulties and dangers; and it is the opinion of an adversary "that His Majesty was even the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most reasonable, sweet persons they ever had seen." This memorable conversion from rebellion to loyalty dates from the 26th July, 1639. 1639.

Meeting of the Assembly at Edinburgh: Montrose formally quits the party of the Covenanters: the King prorogues the Assembly.

In contemplating the life of Montrose in his especial characteristic as a warrior, it is scarcely necessary to follow the course of events during which the seed now sown at Berwick germinated, and brought forth its fruit to perfection. To what extent the General of the Covenant was at the first interview with his Sovereign converted from the errors of his ways has not been recorded. Montrose attended the meeting of the above-named Assembly, of which the Earl of Traquair was the chief Commissioner, on the 12th August. The leaders of the popular cause proposed to take from the Monarchy the control of the Mint,—the command of the strongholds,—the dispensing of honours and precedency,—and even the appointment of officers of State and jurisdictions, and the transferring of these privileges to Parliament. Montrose now for the first time argued against these motions; on which account the zealots became suspicious of him. The Earl declared he would not have things driven so far; and when he perceived that the Covenanters designed not only the King's personal degradation, but the utter ruin of Monarchy, he at once resolved to quit the party. A vote was proposed affecting the King's

1639. — prerogative, and unexpectedly and suddenly the Assembly was prorogued till the 2nd June, 1640, by the King's order.

1640. Montrose attends the second meeting of the Assembly, June: becomes the object of the Covenanters' vengeance.

Charles now displayed a remarkable firmness of determination, notwithstanding many discouraging circumstances, and resolved to coerce the Covenanters by every means within his reach. The spring and forepart of the year 1640 were spent in military preparations on both sides—Leslie was appointed Generalissimo of the Scotch army, which would seem to imply some distrust of the War Committee, who in this appointment passed over our hero. It was, however, notorious to every one that Montrose had received an invitation from the King to go up with diligence to the Court at Whitehall. But instead of repairing thither, he convened some of the nobility, to whom he openly showed the Royal command; and, following their council, he resolved not to go to the Court, which he signified under his own hand to the King on the 26th December, 1639, and forthwith returned to his own home. He, however, came back to Edinburgh, and took part in the re-assembling of the Assembly in June, 1640. He now made himself conspicuous by defending the prerogative, while he adhered to the Covenant, and boldly grappled with Argyle and Warriston, "the most violent and unscrupulous agitators of the day." He publicly repudiated the doctrine,—that there was no other alternative than the immediate and violent overthrow of the Monarchy; and, although he was still in the councils of the Covenanting Government and in the field, he became by the end of the session a suspected, and consequently "a doomed man."

Truce agreed upon at Ripon between Charles and the Covenanters, 1st Oct.

When the session rose, Montrose was named to the command of a division, and immediately proceeded to levy his regiments to serve in the army under Leslie, appearing to be fully disposed to suppress all resistance on the part of the King's friends in the shires of Perth and Angus. At the great Convocation of the latter shire he was appointed Commissioner

to treat with the Lord Ogilvy for the rendering of Airlie Castle, which was given up to him by the noble owner "for the use of the public," and was forthwith garrisoned under Colonel Sibbald. But no sooner had Montrose gone to the wars, than Argyle, who hated both Montrose and the Ogilvys, took the Castle from the garrison left there. He had marched to join the army of the Covenant at Dunse with a contingent of 2000 infantry and 500 horse. Circumstances, however, had occurred which Montrose learnt on his arrival at Dunse, which induced him to hasten to Edinburgh; and accordingly he was not present at the Council of War at which it was determined to invade England. But he returned to Leslie's head-quarters on the 20th August, when he commanded by lot the van of the invading Scotch army. The Earl of Strafford, with Sir Jacob Astley under him, commanded the King's army at Newcastle; and the Lord Viscount Conway, a creature of Strafford's, was General of the horse; but this latter guarding the passage of the Tyne, at Newburn, with a party of 3000 foot and 1200 horse, was beaten back from his post by the division commanded by Montrose. The King came up with his troops; and, after holding a consultation with the leaders, a treaty was agreed upon at Ripon betwixt sixteen English peers and some Scotch Commissioners, which was commenced the 1st October, 1640, but was only concluded in London in 1641, by which a cessation of arms was agreed upon. 1640.

Yet before finally sheathing his sword after so inglorious a campaign Strafford resolved to justify the assurance he had given the King that he would undertake, on peril of his head, to drive the Scots beyond the borders. An expedition was therefore devised for a *camisado* against Durham by an officer with a troop of horse, who attacked the quarters of the Covenanters in that city, slew many, and took several officers prisoners. Loud was the outcry of the Scots at this

Strafford's *camisado* against the Scots at Durham: his zeal restrained by the King.

1641. breach of faith; and Charles was constrained to give a strict order to Strafford to refrain from such endeavours to keep alive the Royal cause in that portion of the kingdom.

Montrose is committed by Argyle to Edinburgh Castle, for corresponding with the King, 11th June.

Whether Montrose was one of the Scotch Commissioners at Ripon does not appear; nor what may have been the interviews, messages, or communications of any kind between him and his Sovereign, or by any intermediary between them during the six months that the negotiations lasted, does not appear in any history of the times which I have met with. All that is stated is, that "during the progress of the treaty he frequently passed and repassed from the army to his own domains in Scotland, and that wherever he went Argyle dogged his path, watching him like a tiger from his bush." It was at this period that an association was formed that has obtained the name of "Montrose's damnable band" from his friends the Covenanters. Taking a hint from the Covenant itself, he framed a bond of alliance for a temperate conservative association that might save the Monarchy. On his return to Scotland it Came to be disclosed that such a bond had been signed by Montrose and other noblemen at Cumbernauld for supporting the Royal authority. And he was directly charged by Leslie himself, who told him that "he had heard that he corresponded with their enemies, and that in his experience he had known the heads of princes chopped off for less matters." The Earl required proof; and he was shown the copy of a letter to the King, which Montrose had drawn up with the intention of sending it to His Majesty. The Earl therefore boldly answered, "He did not understand that writing to their Sovereign was to hold intelligence with an enemy, but rather what became his loyal duty to his King." The letter here produced was said to have been stolen out of the King's pocket at York by Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, a creature of the Marquis of Hamilton. After this, however, one

Stuart, a servant of the Earl of Traquair, was said to have been seized on the borders with some letters that had passed between the King and Montrose, quilted in the messenger's saddle. For these real or pretended communications Argyle ordered the Earl to be apprehended, with Napier of Murchiston, and Stirling of Keir, his friends and kinsmen; and all three were committed to Edinburgh Castle on the 11th June, 1641. 1641.

Treatment and behaviour of Montrose in prison.

The old trick of separate examinations was practised on Montrose and his friends. The Earl refused to answer a single interrogatory; and Keir did the like. But Napier thought it most prudent to give mere "negative answers, without discourse." But Montrose, on being interrogated as to the letters he had written to the King, boldly and frankly admitted them all. The chief object of the Covenanter Government was to keep him in close prison, in order that the countenance of Royalty might not shine upon him for a single moment, either as a Peer of Parliament, or as a State delinquent; and therefore it was all in vain that the Earl petitioned for an immediate trial by his peers; for he said, "What I have done for the public is known to a great many; but what I have done amiss is unknown to myself."

Charles holds a Parliament at Edinburgh, 17th Aug.: decision respecting Montrose and his fellow prisoners.

The Parliament met on the 15th July, but received a message from the King postponing his coming until August; and it was the 14th of the month when His Majesty reached Holyrood. On the 17th he proceeded to hold the Parliament; Hamilton bearing the crown, and Argyle the sceptre. On the 21st, the King being present, a petition from Montrose was read to the House, beseeching that his restraint might be taken into their consideration. But in the form adopted the stout Earl refused to make "a submission;" but desired only a speedy, just trial: and accordingly it was put by till Parliament had despatched their more weighty affairs. And it was ordered by a plurality of

1641. voices, after much debate, that another petition from all their prisoners, demanding that they might be released on sufficient caution, should receive no answer at all. On the 28th August Napier and Keir were sent for to the Parliament, and bade to go up "into the stage appointed for delinquents;" but our hero was not permitted to receive, or would not consent to accept of, such an indulgence, which ended in a mere ceremonial.

Clarendon's groundless aspersion of Montrose's character.

Clarendon, in treating of this affair, has left on record this observation:—"But now after His Majesty arrived in Scotland (1641) by the introduction of Mr. William Murray, of the bedchamber, he (Montrose) came privately to the King, and informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, and that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards His Majesty than Argyle: and offered to make proof of all in the Parliament, but rather desired to have them both made away; which he frankly undertook to do; but the King abhorring that expedient, though for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament." It has always been a distressing "incident[2]" to all who would admire the greatness of the character of Montrose, that on the evidence of so important a witness there should exist this stain upon the character of the great Marquis, that he made an offer of his own personal services to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle. But the accusation is easily refuted. At this very time Montrose and his friends were so fast in prison that he was strictly hindered from being even *seen* by the King; neither by "an introduction of Mr. William Murray of the bedchamber," nor by any other means could he at such a moment have had speech with His Majesty—the whole story is simply incredible.

[2] The "Incident" has always been suspected of having been a device of the unnatural connexion of Hamilton and Argyle.

After Charles had returned to England "the plotters" were remitted to undergo a trial before a Committee on the 1st March, 1642; that is to say, after a most illegal detention of nine months. Such flagrant injustice cemented the attachment of Charles to Montrose. When Sir Edward Nicholas, the King's secretary, wrote to him from England that "the opinion of Montrose's innocence was such, that they will not fare the worse for His Majesty's leaving them to the ordinary course of justice in Scotland," the kind-hearted Sovereign margined the passage in his own hand, but with a full sense of his utter helplessness, "This may be true what you say; but I am sure I miss somewhat in point of honour, if they all be not relieved before I go hence." Nevertheless Charles quitted Scotland without exercising his authority to release the "plotters," and immediately writes to Montrose, at length released from his durance "on caution," "I think fit in respect of your sufferings for me by these lines to acknowledge it. I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and Loyalty are sufficient to a man of so much honour as I know you to be." 1642. Charles's message to Montrose on his liberation.

Montrose being at length set at liberty retired to his own Castle in Angus. Here he hears that the Royal Standard had been displayed at Nottingham on the 25th August that same year, 1642; and two days later the King sends a trusty messenger to deliver a short note to the Earl, in which he says, "You are one whom I have found most faithful, and in whom I repose the greatest trust." But, notwithstanding the persecutions from which Montrose had only just escaped from the Covenanter Government, the leaders of the movement, while preparing a rebel army to oppose the King, sought him like another Cincinnatus in his retirement, and endeavoured to bribe him to become again their Lieutenant-General. At this moment, when the heaven of politics was black with clouds, it required much Montrose's advice to the Queen is set aside by Hamilton: the Covenanters seek to seduce him from his loyalty.

1643. more knowledge of affairs than a man could obtain in Angus to determine how to act. Montrose, therefore, taking the Lord Ogilvy into his counsel, undertook with him a journey into England. While he stayed at Newcastle, on his way, in February, 1643, he heard that the Queen Henrietta Maria had arrived at Burlington. He immediately repaired thither, and, after kissing Her Majesty's hand, unfolded to her the critical state of the King's affairs in Scotland, and begged her to induce immediate and energetic action before the new army of the Covenanters could be set on foot, and thus to crush the cockatrice in its egg. But the Marquis of Hamilton effectually counteracted his advice when he arrived to meet the Queen at York; and Montrose had returned back to Angus. Here it happened, after it had transpired that Hamilton had overruled the advice he had tendered to Her Majesty, that the private offers to induce him to become second in command of the Scotch army under Leslie "in aid of their brethren in England" were renewed; and one of these, as late as June 1643, has been described in detail, when Montrose gravelled the emissaries of Argyle by the simple question, "Are these offers made to me from the Convention of Scotland, or are you negotiating privately?" Then Montrose closed the conference with this sarcastic observation, "that he could come to no conclusion without the security of the public faith; especially as the messengers were not at one on the subject of their powers."

The Scots join the English against the King: Leslie prepares to invade England: Montrose warns

A Convention of estates, called by the Covenanters, without any authority from the King, met at Edinburgh on the 22nd June, 1643. Montrose and his friends refused to appear at this session. It gave birth to that measure which turned the scale of Scotland against the Monarchy, and which it had been the earnest endeavour of Montrose, in acting against Hamilton, to prevent, namely, the union of the Scotch army with the English against the King. A decree was voted by

a majority of seventy voices to raise 20,000 men as auxiliaries of the Parliament; and the "Solemn League and Covenant" of 1638 was re-affirmed "with all the fervour of Puritanical democracy." Charles now opened his eyes to the mistake he had committed in adopting the Duke of Hamilton's[3] advice, and rejecting that of Montrose. The army of Leslie (made Earl of Leven so lately as when the King was in Scotland) was now on the point of crossing the border. The Earl therefore saw that the time was now past for temporizing. He acquainted all his friends with the designs of the Covenanters, and animated them to take arms for the King, so as to keep the Scotch army employed at home; and he himself posted in all haste to Oxford to inform His Majesty of his opinion on this affair. On his arrival there he found that Charles was at the siege of Gloucester; and thither he followed him, and apprised the King of Leven's intentions to enter England, which the Hamiltons had flattered His Majesty he could never do.

1643. Charles against him.

On this visit to Oxford Montrose "gave His Majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke Hamilton, and of the posture of Scotland, and made some smart propositions to the King for the remedy." Both the Duke and his brother, the Earl of Lanrick, had attended the late Convention; and the latter had put the King's signet (of which he had the custody) to the proclamation calling out the military force of the Kingdom; and these traitors were now on their way to Court to blind their Sovereign to their "foul infidelity." "That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, His Majesty appointed the Lord Keeper, his

Montrose and others are examined respecting the disloyalty of Hamilton, whom the King orders to be imprisoned.

[3] This very false friend of His Majesty was created Duke on the King's late visit. It was the ordinary custom of Scotland, that when the heiress of a title marries one not her equal by birth, her husband should, on her petition to the Crown, obtain a title for life: accordingly, the Douglas became Duke of Hamilton.

1643. — two Secretaries, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earls of Montrose and Kinnard, the Lord Ogilvy, and some others, upon oath, of all things of which they could accuse Duke Hamilton or his brother Lanrick; and to take their examinations in writing, that so His Majesty might discover whether these errors proceeded from infidelity." In the meanwhile the two brothers, as soon as they arrived, received a command from the King "to keep their chambers," and had a guard placed upon them. The Committee accordingly took the examinations, which appeared so grave that a transcript of them was prepared, and laid before the Council Board; for the accused complained that they were the mere effect of the malice of their enemy Montrose, and recriminated on him that he had, through his rashness and violence, exasperated the Kirk to take those very measures which so much embroiled the King's affairs in Scotland. His Majesty did not think there was evidence enough for him to withdraw his trust from either brother; for "he had the best opinion of the Earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than Hamilton." But while thus weighing and balancing the accusation against them, and preparing to show even justice, on the second morning after their coming to Oxford Lanrick, either by corrupting or deluding the guard, broke his arrest, and, having a horse prepared, went directly to London, where he was well received by the Parliamentary authorities. On this, though it somewhat lacerated his heart, Charles committed his long-cherished favourite, the Duke of Hamilton, first to Bristol, and then to Pendennis Castle; nor did he ever pronounce the order for his release.

Charles appoints Montrose Governor-General of Scotland, and creates

The King had now no one in whom he could confide in Scotch affairs but Montrose, to whom he consigned that kingdom, with the title of Governor-General; and to this commission, bestowing the Royal countenance and authority upon whatever he might

undertake, His Majesty added the patent of a Marquis. Montrose had now attained the summit of his desires to serve and save the King, and was well pleased to see that he should have a trial of strength with his adversaries in the tented field. He was utterly opposed to the fallacy of healing methods when such a crisis had befallen his King, and thought the sword the only remedy that could be applied to the imminent diseases of the State. It was agreed that the Earl of Antrim [4], an Irish nobleman supposed to possess great power and influence in the sister kingdom, who was actually at Oxford at the time, should go to Ireland to raise auxiliaries, with whom he could make a descent in Argyle and the western parts of Scotland in the month of April following; and that Sir John Cochrane should be despatched to the King of Denmark to solicit the aid of troops, but above all that a quantity of arms and military stores might be sent from thence into Scotland.

1643. — him a Marquis: sends to Ireland and to Denmark for auxiliaries.

The King, at the first impulse, was ready to have made his new Marquis Viceroy in Scotland; and the commission was actually prepared for the Royal signature nominating him Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General of the kingdom; but Montrose, with great tact and forecast, declined such ample honours. He well knew the jealous character of his countrymen,

Montrose prudently declines the appointment to the Vice-Royalty of Scotland.

[4] "The Earl of Antrim was notorious for nothing but for having married the widow of the famous Duke of Buckingham. He was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a marvellous weak and narrow understanding, who had betaken himself to the rebels, and left them again to join his wife, who was at the Court and in good favour with the King. It was thought that, as the estate of the Macdonalds was in the province of Ulster, lying next to Scotland, from the similarity of the people, both speaking one language, and having much in common in their manner of living, all the Highlanders might advance the enterprise: and Antrim was flattered at his being supposed to have interest and power sufficient to serve the King in Ireland, for he hoped by this means to raise his head by the side of the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland—the Lord Ormonde, who, he knew, despised him."

1643. even among the most loyal of the Scottish peers; and he therefore suggested that the King should appoint His Majesty's nephew, Prince Maurice, to be invested with the supreme command, while he himself should be placed in the same commission under him as Lieutenant-General in Scotland.

1644. It was early in March, 1644, when Montrose quitted Oxford, rejoicing in his high charge, and bearing orders from His Majesty to the Marquis of Newcastle, commanding his northern army, to help him on his way across the border with all the means to boot of collecting for him the *nucleus* of an army. He sent forward the King's letter of instructions to the Duke by Colonel Cochrane, and made the best of his way to York, where he met this messenger on his return with a disheartening report,—that the Marquis had neither supplies, arms, nor ammunition to give to any one. Nevertheless Montrose obtained a personal interview with Newcastle at Durham on the 14th. It appeared that the near presence of the Scots had hindered all recruiting, and had even created a scarcity of every thing in Newcastle's army. The result of the King's orders, backed by the urgency of his champion, obtained for the latter an escort of ill-conditioned and ill-appointed horse, with two small brass field-pieces, and this was all that could be yielded from England to the King's Lieutenant-General in Scotland. The Marquis, however, gave Montrose letters to the King's officers and captains of militia in Cumberland and Westmoreland; so that by their aid he was escorted on his way to Carlisle by 800 foot and three troops of horse; and with this small force he boldly crossed the border on the 13th April, 1644. He had not, however, proceeded far when the English revolted, and insisted on returning to England. Nevertheless, by force of character, and with tact, he proceeded, with such as would follow him, to Dumfries, which surrendered to him without opposition. But, as the Covenanters were hovering about him in all

Montrose captures Morpeth, 8th June.

directions, he returned after a few days to Carlisle, to avoid being surprised by them. Montrose now joined himself with Colonel Clavering and some loyally affected gentlemen of Northumberland, and resolved to attempt to gain possession of Morpeth, against which they marched on the 10th May, accompanied by the Earl of Crawford. The siege was undertaken without a single siege-gun. It was a bold move; and a daring attempt was made to storm the walls, which failed after considerable loss. The new Marquis therefore resolved to set to work more deliberately, and broke ground within musket-shot. He then obtained six pieces of artillery from Newcastle, which he placed so judiciously, that in a few days the castle was nearly reduced to ruins, and a breach effected. Previous to storming, however, the alternative of a capitulation was offered to the shattered garrison, and the white flag displayed on the 8th June admitted Montrose into the possession of Morpeth. 1644.

Progress of the science of war: slender advantage from the capture of Morpeth.

In the course of the seventeenth century, and until near the close of it, the principles of offensive war had not been settled into that code which we now call *strategy* (the word itself is not in Johnson's Dictionary). War was the mere trial of strength between individual warriors until the time of the Barons, when it advanced into becoming a struggle of bodies of men, either behind stone walls, or some inaccessible natural defences. The object sought to be obtained by leaders of armies was just the mastery for the moment, without much combination or any previously considered plans, which form the science of a campaign. The possession of Morpeth was an idle effusion of blood, having no higher motive than what is understood in sporting language by the "blooding of hounds;" and now that Montrose had obtained possession of the ruins he had no means of holding the place for the King; for it would have required every disposable man under his command to garrison it. Doubtless, had it been part of Newcastle's policy to have obtained

1644. possession of this town, Morpeth would have been a great acquisition, situated as it is at the junction of two important lines of advance from the border; and the strategy of our hero's bold attempt would have been intelligible, because the short and easily-remembered rule is this,—"Endeavour to maintain such advanced posts as may most delay an enemy's advance, most obstruct an enemy's attack, and most favour the security of our own position and communications."

The disaster at Marston Moor: Montrose, undaunted, bestirs himself in the King's cause.

At the close of the month of June peremptory orders from Prince Rupert reached Montrose at York; but before he could in consequence reach the English army, the battle of Marston Moor had been fought,—on the 2nd July, —and lost. The game was now up for the King in the North of England. "Give me a thousand of your horse, and I will cut my way into Scotland," says the heart-whole Montrose, who never said "Die" till he had ascended the fatal gibbet. Yet notwithstanding the hopelessness of the prospect, he writes to Oxford, "You shall hear from us anon."—Nevertheless he does not disguise his very bad news that Huntley's 5000 Royalists are "disbanded without stroke stricken;" "Traquair, with the King's party, has solicited for peace, and his son, Lord Linton, has accepted service with the rebels." Montrose, however, had set his hand to the plough, and was not the man to look back. He sent William Rollock into Scotland on an errand to seek and to give information to aid the Royalist cause—and this latter messenger returned in about fourteen days with a most melancholy account of the posture of affairs in that kingdom, where no man dared to open his mouth in favour of the King. Montrose then set himself down to compose instructions for the Lord Ogilvy, with which he was to make his way to the King, (and these are given at length in "Napier's Life of the Marquis," but were never received by Charles, as his messenger was captured in Sir Marmaduke Langdale's defeat on the 12th August, and sent prisoner to Hull,) and as soon as Ogilvy had departed

with his letters, the Marquis withdrew clandestinely from the English army, leaving his servants, horses, and baggage behind him, which when discovered caused great consternation and alarm to his party. 1644.

Montrose, travelling in disguise, is recognized by a soldier, 18th Aug.

It was on or about the 18th August, that a retainer of Graham of Netherby met three individuals, one acting as groom mounted on a very sorry nag, and leading another which might be called a spare horse. The man acknowledged that he was a trooper of Lord Leven's, sent out to watch the borders, but supposing this party to be soldiers of the Covenant he allowed them to pass on. The three travellers shortly afterwards encountered a Scotch soldier who had fought in the ranks of Newcastle's army. This man advanced to him who appeared as the groom with the horses, and, with a voice and countenance full of humility and duty, began to cry out, "What, do I not know my Lord Marquis of Montrose well enough? Go your way, and God be with you wherever you go." This was the truth; the three travellers were Rollock and Sibbald, with Montrose disguised as Sibbald's groom. "The quick and piercing grey eye," and the Marquis's "singular grace in riding," could not escape the observation of "the penetrating eye of his soldier friend."

Colkitto, with his Irish followers, invades the territory of Argyle, whose ships destroy the invaders' fleet, July.

The Marquis now accelerated his progress, and within four days arrived at Tullibelton among the hills near Tay, a house belonging to his kinsman Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie. He was a Royalist and a man in confidence with the Royalists, and his house stood in a situation well suited for the concocting of his plans. Montrose, however, did not consider it prudent to occupy his cousin's house, but wandered about the neighbouring mountains, while he despatched companies to obtain intelligence. By these means he heard that a body of Irishmen had landed somewhere in the West. This proved to be Alexander Macdonald, of Lord Antrim's following, better known by the name of Colkitto, who had arrived from Ireland and the Isles

1644. with about 1200, or 1500 men, having landed at Ardnamurckan in the Hebrides, in July 1644, and had already got possession of the Castles of Meigray and Kinloch. This leader was a man well known to be of an Herculean frame and the stoutest of hearts, intensely set against Argyle, who was at deadly feud with the Macdonalds every where. Naturally discomposed at receiving no welcome from the Gordons and the Grahams, with whom he was to be in confederacy, Colkitto at once attacked Argyle's country with the desperate bravery for which he was celebrated; and as he advanced into the interior despatched the fiery Cross to summon all the clans to the standard of Montrose, the King's Lieutenant, which was carried across the kingdom even to Aberdeen, but failed to raise any of the chiefs but Clan Ronald and Glengary. The Argyle Government acted against him with energy, but with one result that rather aided than retarded the cause,—they sent some ships of war to secure Colkitto's ships, which lay at Loch Eisford, and captured or destroyed the whole fleet. Accordingly this loss frustrated the intentions of the Macdonalds to return to Ireland, and stimulated them to greater exertions in search of Montrose.

Montrose appoints a meeting with Colkitto, who takes the Blair of Athole.

It happened that as the Marquis was wandering over the mountains of Perth he encountered the messenger with the fiery Cross sent to advertise St. Johnston (Perth) that Colonels Macgillespech, for so was Alexander Macdonald called by the Highlanders, had entered Argyleshire. This hint determined Montrose as to the course he should pursue; and he allowed the fiery Cross to fulfil its errand, that all the country might be raised to assist his enterprise. But the messenger had scarcely sped on his errand, and Montrose was scarcely on his way, when one arrived at Inchbrakie's house with a letter addressed to Montrose at Carlisle, which thus at length had found him. The bearer was a retainer well known by the name of "Black Pate," who came to Graham as to one that

could be trusted, and might afford him counsel. The mission was safely conveyed to Montrose, who answered it as from Carlisle, desiring Colkitto to march down into Athole with all his men, and adding that there the King's Lieutenant would meet them. In fixing on Athole as the place of rendezvous reliance was placed on the fidelity and loyalty of that clan, and on their unquestioned courage. But nevertheless the people coldly received a stranger force, led by one not known to them as of noble or ancient lineage. And this hesitation might have been fatal to the enterprise. Colkitto nevertheless made himself master of the Blair of Athole, and awaited the event. Nevertheless the Stuarts and the Robertsons, friends of Montrose, were arrayed against him, and were drawn up in battle array on the opposite hills. 1644.

The men of Athole welcome Montrose, who raises the Royal Standard at Truidh.

Montrose had seventy miles to travel on foot to reach the trysting place: but he had his heart and his hopes to hasten him forward; and as though it were an apparition, he presented himself before the gate of Blair Athole in the garb of old Gaul, attended by their commissioner "Black Pate." The wild joy and the salvoes of fire-arms that hailed the long-expected leader startled the men of Athole on the opposite hill; and they rushed down with one accord, and made him a spontaneous offer of their services. This plan of a sudden appearance to excite and awaken the enthusiasm of the Highlanders was in itself a stroke of genius. But our hero neglected none of those subsidiaries which have their natural effects on the minds of half-civilized followers; and in that respect he very strongly resembled Napoleon. Montrose would not abate one single iota of the authority and respect of his high credentials; and he therefore proceeded to open his Commission as King's Lieutenant with all due pomp and ceremony. His little army consisted of about 1200 Irish, some 700 or 800 men of Athole, and about 300 men out of Bannock, who had formed

1644. part of Huntley's broken array. He selected a conspicuous elevation, called *Truidh*, which overlooks the strath of Athole, and part of Glentilt; and here, within twenty-four hours after his arrival, he collected all his men; and with all the pomp and solemnity that were permitted him by circumstances, he proceeded to raise the Royal Standard. This classic spot is yet marked by a small cairn that was erected there by Robertson the last laird of Lude. Montrose knew the value of an auspicious moment; and at once pointing with his pike southwards towards the Tunmel and the Tay, set his wild mountaineers in motion.

Montrose's "Declaration."

Montrose sent forward a proper messenger with a friendly notice to the clan Menzies of his intention to pass through their country; but, instead of taking this in good part, they maltreated the messenger, and harassed the rear of his army. He accordingly marched by Weem Castle, the seat of the Chief, and plundered and burnt their houses, and wasted their fields. But this was not elsewhere repeated; as it was neither his policy nor his disposition to provoke to acts of hostility, so it had never been his custom to commence a campaign without a declaration of some kind penned by himself. The original draft of that which he now prepared is extant, headed by a rudely-drawn representation of the Crown of Scotland, with the legend "God save the King." "I, in His Majesty's name and authority, solemnly declare that the ground and intention of His Majesty's service here in this kingdom —according to *our own* solemn and *national* oath and Covenant—only is for the maintenance of the true Protestant religion; His Majesty's just and sacred authority; the fundamental laws and privileges of Parliament; the peace and freedom of the oppressed and thralled subject,—that in thus far and no more doth His Majesty require the service and assistance of his faithful and loving-hearted people."

Montrose's

It may be thought that it was "cutting blocks with

a razor" to refine to this extent "with lang-legged callants gaun wanting the breeks, and without hose or shoon:" but it is characteristic of the true heart and soul of the great Marquis. He alludes to the Covenant because he had, in good faith and all sincerity, taken one to which he desired to adhere; not that sham, the "Solemn League and Covenant," which had been set up in the stead of the one he had taken. So he now stood up for the King; but it was the Constitutional and Parliamentary Sovereign of his hopes that, without the shadow of hypocrisy and tergiversation, he was going now to fight for. Napier quotes a letter that Montrose wrote at this time to Argyle; but I can scarcely think that the great Marquis could have been so great a fool as to waste pen, ink, and paper upon the remotest expectation that an adventurer from the woods and mountains, such as he now was, could induce a man who was, as it were, in the seat of power, "to submit himself to the grace and protection of the good King," and to conclude his missive in such words as these, "If you still continue obstinate, I call God to witness that through your own stubbornness I shall be compelled to endeavour to reduce you by force." 1644. Letter to Argyle.

By the morning of the 31st August, 1644, Montrose had poured down from the Athol, had safely crossed the Tay, and, forming up his 2500 in Glen Almond, presented the King's Commission to a body of Covenanters drawn up on the hill of Buchanty, as if to oppose his further progress. Nothing but the return of Napoleon from Elba can parallel what now happened. The young Lord Kilpont, son and heir of the Earl of Menteith, the Master of Madarty, and Sir John Drummond, thus appealed to, at once joined the Royal Standard with all their followers, 500 in number. With such an addition, acquired under such circumstances, the Marquis thought himself strong enough to fight the Covenanters; and he advanced to Perth with this object on the 1st September. The enemy's army was Montrose receives unlooked-for auxiliaries, and prepares to attack the Covenanters at Tippermuir.

1644. found on the wide plains of Tippermuir, between two and three miles west from the town. It was commanded in chief by the Lord Elcho, son of the first Earl of Wemys, and Lord Murray of Gull, son of the Earl of Tullibardine. Six or eight thousand foot were under the lead of these noblemen, partly clansmen, and partly militia burghers; and James Lord Drummond, son of the Earl of Perth, was at the head of 700 or 800 horse. All these troops were completely appointed, and amply supplied with arms and ammunition, including a train of nine pieces of artillery.

Montrose's address to his men: their sorry equipment.

Montrose had but three horses, and not a single gun. His Irishmen had muskets, with only one round of ammunition, and had neither swords nor pikes. Some of the Highlanders had swords and Lochaber axes; and some were destitute of arms of every description. Nothing can be so thoroughly characteristic of adventurous enterprise than the way in which the great Marquis sought to deal with these most disheartening preparatives for an impending battle. He first addressed himself to the helpless mountaineers, "It is true, you have no arms: your enemies have, however, plenty. My advice therefore is, that as there happens to be plenty of stones upon this moor, every man should provide himself in the first place with as stout a stone as he can well manage—rush up to the first Covenanter he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword, and then I believe he will be at no loss how to proceed." The Irish, having neither swords nor pikes to withstand the cavalry, were stationed in the centre of the line; and the Highlanders, who had swords and Lochaber axes, were placed on the wings, as better fitted to receive the horse. The Irish forces, having, as has been stated, but little powder, were ordered to husband their fire till they should come close to the enemy; but to deliver it from all—the first rank kneeling—coolly and simultaneously—and then to assail the foe as they best could. The entire line was made as ex-

tensive as possible—consistently with efficient strength —by limiting the files to three men deep. 1644.

Before coming to blows Montrose despatched the young Master of Madarty with an offer of peace; but the chief seized the messenger, and promised they would hang him after the victory. The action commenced with the Covenanters. Lord Drummond advanced with his horse to allure the impatient mountaineers from their formation; but Montrose saw through the *ruse*, and restrained the ardour of his men. Seizing an advantageous moment, the Marquis, on foot, with his target and pike, set himself in the forefront, took the initiative, and ordered the whole array forward in good order, when, receiving the command for a charge, the whole line, "cheering, hooting, and shricking," after their fashion, rushed on at a quick pace into the very ranks of the foe. They were encountered by a random discharge of cannon; but the music of the "Reel of Howlakin" so disordered the nerves of the gunners, that they discharged their great guns with very little thought of the direction in which the cannon-balls might go; so that the Highlanders altogether disregarded the roar of the "musket's mother," and went right through the enemy's rank. When sufficiently near, Montrose halted his Irish musketeers, who poured their volley full into the faces of the Covenanters. The cavalry, riding up to the assistance of their infantry, were met fearlessly by the pikes and Lochaber axes; while the Irish steadily opposed the attacks of the horse with the butt-ends of their muskets. Then came the stony storm from the bare and sinewy arms of the unarmed Highlanders, more effective by far than a thousand ill-directed bullets; for these missiles being new and unexpected, the cuts they inflicted caused men and horses to shrink and tremble. The result was, that, after a short conflict, Drummond's horse were forced to a precipitate retreat; and Elcho, with the Tullibardines, was carried away with them.

Battle of Tippermuir: total rout of the Covenanters.

1644. Lord Kilpont, with an army of bowmen, formed the right of the Royalist array, where they were opposed to the Covenanters' left under the command of Sir James Scott. This was justly deemed by Montrose as the most formidable point of the enemy's battle; for Scott was an excellent soldier. Montrose therefore came up himself with the men of Athole, and made a desperate struggle to attain to the advantage of the higher ground. "Well was it for those who could best press up the mountain side, and not a sob the toil confess." The Highlanders outstripped their competitors in a matter of their every day's experience, and ran to the heights like deer. Down came the ruthless swords and Lochaber axes upon the devoted Lowlanders, which hacked and wounded an incredible number of men and horses. Hundreds of the foot were killed, and many were taken prisoners; but the horse for the most part got away through their swiftness, and there was no cavalry to follow in pursuit. The battle lasted from eight in the morning till nine at night, when all the Covenanters' cannon, arms, munitions, colours, drums, tents, and baggage,—in a word, the entire of those warlike necessaries of which Montrose had been so remarkably destitute at sunrise of that day, were with the Royal army in the city of Perth within twenty-four hours. It was a great stroke, and a most extraordinary battle. The loss on the side of Montrose appears to have been very trifling; but in such sort of encounters it is impossible to attain to any certainty as to the true loss in killed and wounded on either side. The victory of Tippermuir, if it did not increase Montrose's power very greatly, added very largely to his honour.

Barbarous atrocities of the Covenanters: project for the assassination of Montrose.

The Marquis entertained confident expectations that many of the Royalists of the adjoining country, who had hitherto kept out of sight, would now flock to his standard. But their spirit had been so thoroughly subdued by the severities of the Covenanters, that,

after remaining three days at Perth to afford them the opportunity of joining him, he had the mortification to find that even the Gordons, on whom he most counted, were so Argyle-ridden, that even Huntley's zeal for the King now "showed no sign." Disappointed, accordingly, in these hopes, and hearing that a large army under the command of the Earl of Argyle was advancing upon him, Montrose carried his army across the Tay on the 4th September, and encamped them in the open near Collace, about seven miles from Cupar Angus. A sad event marked the moment of this advance. Rewards had been offered by that dastardly spirit of sectarianism that marked the Reformation in Scotland, upon the heads of all Episcopalians; and just before the battle of Tippermuir Irving of Kerycaussie had been murdered for the sake of the reward. While still at Collace, on the 6th September, one Stuart, of Ardvoilich, a retainer of the Earl of Arith, conceived the barbarous design of despatching Montrose, and discovered his intentions to Lord Kilpont, endeavouring to entice him to be an accessory in this villany; when the young Lord, abhorring such a dastardly act, refused the proposition, he was himself assaulted unawares, and stabbed in many places. Stuart therefore fled, killing a sentinel that would have stopped him, and joined Argyle, who rewarded him with high commands in the Covenanting army, and obtained for him a Parliamentary discharge from the guilt of the murder. Such deeds unhappily were in those times deemed meritorious, or at least not censurable actions. 1644.

Montrose marched on upon Dundee, which he summoned on the 7th September; but the town refused to admit him[6]. Here, however, he was joined by the

Montrose, declining the siege of Dundee, marches to prevent the junction of Burleigh and Argyle.

[6] The Marquis, although deeply oppressed by this dreadful shock, and ready enough to carry out the *Lex Talionis* when necessary, would not act in a hasty spirit, and therefore made anxious inquiries as to the feeling of the inhabitants towards him; when, finding them to be "disaffectionate," he determined to pass the town and not attempt to storm it.

1644. Earl of Airlie and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, and likewise by the Lords Dufflin and Spynie, with a considerable number of their friends and vassals, together with some gentlemen from the Mearns. This was a seasonable addition to the army of the King's Lieutenant; for some of the Highlanders had, as usual, gone home with their spoils obtained at Tippermuir, and three of Lord Kilpont's retainers had, after his death, gone to Menteith with his body. Having satisfied himself of the disaffection of the citizens of Dundee, and having been advised that they had made the city approaches very strong with cannon placed on Corbie Hill, Montrose, with great judgment, would not waste his time in the hazardous issue of a siege, but passed on through Angus. He had now two armies in the field against him,—that which held Aberdeen, to which Lord Elcho and his fugitives from Tippermuir had joined themselves, and the command of which was held by the Lord Burleigh, his father-in-law,—and the yet more imposing array under Argyle himself, which was advancing to swell his enemies to considerable dimensions. Montrose therefore resolved to prevent their junction.

Montrose encounters Burleigh and Argyle, 11th Sept.

Burleigh's army consisted of 2500 foot and 500 horse; but some of these were Gordons, who were obliged to take up arms against the Royalists, but whose heart was with Montrose. The Royal army was composed of 1500 foot and forty-four horse. The Brig o' Dee was, as his experience had amply taught him, "a difficult nut to crack," and it was guarded by a considerable force. Directing his course therefore to the West, along the river bank, the King's Lieutenant crossed the river at the mills of Drum, and summoned the Laird of Leys in his Castle of Crathes, with *whom he supped*, and, on the 11th September, he drew up his army at a short distance from Aberdeen, which he forthwith summoned in the King's name. For reply, they shot the drummer who accompanied the flag of truce; which angered Montrose deeply. "He grew mad, and

became furious and impatient[7]." He nevertheless ordered the assault on the 13th with judgment and skill. From his paucity of cavalry he was obliged to extend his line as he had done at Tippermuir, to prevent the enemy from surrounding or outflanking him: but at each of his wings he posted small cavalry detachments, along with select parties of active Irish musketeers and archers. To James Hay of Dalgetty, and Sir Nathaniel Gordon, he entrusted his right wing; and to Sir William Rollock his left: all men of tried bravery and experience. He caused his army to distinguish themselves by a bunch of oats stuck in their bonnets—"Montrose's whimsy." He himself was well mounted in this battle, and better able to superintend the operations of the field. He was clad in a tartan coat and trews, with a "rip" of oats in his bonnet. By his side rode the old Lord Airlie, whose sons acted as his staff; there was also his own son, the young Lord Graham, about fourteen years of age, attended by Master William Forrett. 1644.

The battle: total defeat of the Covenanters.

It is not stated how many guns were with the Royal army; but the Covenanters' artillery was the better served. A cannonade from both sides commenced the battle, and the guns of the latter did the most execution, under which the Covenanters were enabled to get possession of some cottages and garden walls lying between the combatants: nevertheless from these they were again dislodged by the Irish musketeers. Lord Lewis Gordon, who commanded the left wing of the Covenanters, then made a demonstration with 400 foot and 100 horse to attack Montrose's right wing; which being observed by him, he called Sir William Rollock with his Cavaliers from the left, and uniting all his small squadron, not only repulsed the attack, but totally drove off the Covenanting horse, and cut to pieces their foot soldiers. The Lords Fraser and Frendraught, seeing Lord Lewis Gordon's

[7] Spalding's History of the Covenanters.

1644. retreat, immediately advanced against the left flank of the Royal army; but Montrose, with wonderful resolution, not only restrained the ardour of his horsemen in this service, but, with unexampled celerity, now carried them to the point of attack at the other extremity of his line, fell upon the assailants sword in hand, and forced them to fly with great slaughter, thus crying victory on both wings. Forbes of Craigievar, and Forbes of Largie, were here made prisoners. The fortune of the day was nevertheless yet in suspense, for the main line of both armies was yet unmoved. Burleigh observing the success of Montrose's tactics, with his united musketeers and horse, now resolved to exercise them with a charge renewed for the third time with redoubled energy. But Montrose, with true military genius, resolved to anticipate any such endeavour, and in the exciting moment his voice was heard above the battle, exclaiming, "Come on, claymores, come on, musketeers—to close quarters—down upon them with your broadswords, and club your muskets—we do no good at this distance. Make the cowards feel their treason and their treachery." These words were no sooner uttered than the Highlanders advanced in a simultaneous attack upon the enemy. "The rush was irresistible,—the rout irretrievable,—the slaughter immense." The Covenanters were paralyzed, and, turning about, fled in the utmost trepidation and confusion towards Aberdeen.

Excesses committed by the victors in Aberdeen: Montrose's active exertions after the victory.

There was, says the historian, little slaughter in the fight compared to what there was in the pursuit and in the city. All who could be overtaken in the former were hewn and cut down without a word. And in the streets and in the houses of Aberdeen the broadsword was used without mercy or "remied." If the Irish saw one well clad, they would first "tyr" (strip) him, to save his clothes unspoiled; "syne kill the man." For four days did the conquerors indulge in the most dreadful excesses. Yet it has been said that "Mont-

rose evinced great mercy,—pardoning the people, and protecting their goods." The Marquis—the custom war is not to be resisted—again hoped that his victory would excite the ardour of the Gordons; but it is believed that the Marquis of Huntley was jealous of Montrose having been made King's Lieutenant, which appeared to trench upon his own authority as Lieutenant of the North. Quitting Aberdeen on the 16th, part of the army was sent towards Kintore and Inverary to encourage the people of the country to rally round the Royal Standard; but the numerous retainers of Huntley had no idea of taking the field except at the command of their chief. Nathaniel Gordon was sent to Strathbogie (Huntley Castle) and the Bog of Gight (Gordon Castle), and head-quarters were placed at Kildrummie Castle; but the miserable abeyance of the chief, and the compulsory absence of all his gallant sons, paralyzed the whole clan. 1644.

Argyle's movements: sets a price upon Montrose's head: wary and dexterous conduct of the latter.

We must now revert to the army of Argyle, whose tardy movements were in strong contrast to the activity of his great rival. On the 4th September he had arrived at Stirling, whence he marched on the 10th to Perth. Here he reviewed his force, which consisted of 3000 foot and two regular regiments of cavalry, besides ten troops of irregular horse, with which he quitted Perth on the 14th, and arrived at Aberdeen on the 19th. Here he made himself known by a proclamation, declaring Montrose and his followers traitors to their religion, King, and country, and offering a reward of 20,000 (punds Scots) to any one who would bring him in dead or alive. He was now within half a day's march of his adversary; yet he spent two or three days in Aberdeen doing absolutely nothing. Montrose had few incumbrances of which to deprive his army, excepting the few cannon he had taken in his two victories, and these he buried in a bog. He saw that he had no chance in a stand-up fight with such an array of real soldiers; and accordingly he

1644. adopted the Fabian policy of alluring the oppressor on his prey, and leading him through mountains and straths, until his cavalry should be worn out by constant motion. His *redshanks*, active and wiry as the herds of deer that grazed among their hills, swept the horizon as a meteor does the sky; and, like a skilful angler with a monster salmon of the Highland waters, he worked the patience of Argyle "up the Don to the Spey, from the Spey to the Tummel—from that to the Tay, then to the Esk, and round again to the Dee and the Don, and so round and round the entire north of Scotland, till he had laid him gasping at Fyvie in the month of October, and ere long finally dished at Inverlochy[6]."

Montrose first marched to the Spey, and encamped near the old Castle of Rothiemurcus; but finding himself already headed there by the removal of every boat by which he might have crossed the river, he marched his army into the Gault of Abernethy, where he was within twenty miles of Argyle. The Marquis now quitted the protective forest, and, returning up the Spey, proceeded to the head of Strathspey, carrying the Royal banner proudly into Badenoch. Here it was the intention of the Royal chief to have gone into Athole; but he was prevented from moving for a few days in consequence of illness. His pursuers asserted with confidence that the Lord of Hosts had given Montrose into their hands; but he speedily recovered, and on the 4th October made his appearance in Athole, whence, marching close to Dunkeld, he moved rapidly through Angus toward Brechin and Montrose. Here he refreshed his men for a few days, when, crossing the Grampians, he marched to Strathbogie, and established his head-quarters in Huntley Castle on the 21st October.

Merciless activity of Argyle: his unexpected

At this time Argyle was following rather than pursuing our hero; and this so leisurely, that not even

[6] Mark Napier.

the warrior's sick couch at Badenoch was disturbed by him: the sick lion was respected, if not feared. Nevertheless the Covenanting chief spread destruction round the "star of Athole:" every loyal heart was riven, and hearth and homestead were burnt from Angus northward to Dunnottar and Aberdeen, into which last place the Marquis of Argyle entered with Lothian on the 24th October, and on the following day marched to Kintore and Inverary. This sudden and unaccustomed activity forms a remarkable contrast with the slowness of the former motions of the Covenanters. They had followed Montrose through a long and circuitous route, through pathless desert ways, 'mid storms and snows, through a country sparsely inhabited; or, even where there were shanties, the greater part of them bore recent traces of the footsteps of the hostile clans. This questionable policy of Argyle was by no means calculated to raise his military fame; but for once he put his adversary off his guard. Montrose had possessed himself of Fyvie Castle as a place in which he might securely lodge the booty which his men daily brought into his camp, and which on all former occasions led the Highlanders to desert, in order to carry it home. Here, while he thought his adversary was still on the other side of the Grampians, word was brought him on the 28th October, that the camp of Argyle was within two miles of him.

1644. — proximity to Montrose, 28th Oct.

The unexpected arrival of Argyle's army for a moment disconcerted Montrose. He knew that his "redshanks," who had been breathing themselves with continual excursions against the clans during their stay at Strathbogie, had expended most of their ammunition in these forays, and had now no means of replacing it. He knew, moreover, that he was fearfully overmatched in numbers, especially, as was usually the case, in cavalry. With his accustomed coolness he assumed a more combative attitude, trusting to his genius to meet the emergency as best he might. He

Montrose prepares to receive Argyle's attack: valiant onset of his Irish auxiliaries.

1644. judged it inexpedient to become the assailant; but yet if he maintained himself in the Castle of Fyvie, and stood a siege there, it was neither consistent with his reputation nor interest, for he could never look to being relieved by any other Royalist leader; and therefore in the end he would be constrained to yield himself up a prisoner. The plan he adopted to receive his adversary was this;—on a rugged eminence behind the Castle, on the uneven sides of which several dykes had been cut to serve as farm fences, he drew up his little intrepid army: these obstacles he determined to employ as a kind of breastwork; and he knew they would also serve as a defence against the attack of Lothian and his 120 horse. Matters, however, looked serious when horse and foot, united, advanced to within an ace of these defences. Montrose now tried "the game of chaff." A young Irish officer named O'Kyan, whose courage and enterprise were well known to him, stood a few paces off. With an assumption of unconcern he called out to him, "Come, O'Kyan, what are you about? take some of your handiest fellows, drive those rascals from our defences, and see that we are not molested by them." The young Hibernian quickly obeyed the mandate, and made an immediate rush upon the assailants, drove the advance of the enemy down the hill, and was amply rewarded by the capture of some bags of gunpowder, which the enemy, in their hurry to escape, had let fall from their horses. This was indeed a valuable acquisition: but when one of the Paddies opened a bag, he exclaimed with all the characteristic humour of his nation, "Why! the stingy traitors have given us no ball: we must at them again, and take some out of the pockets of these niggardly rascals." Every pewter pot, dish, and flagon which was in the vaults of Fyvie Castle was forthwith put into requisition for the manufacture of slugs and bullets; and some of these being for a nameless utility afforded a subject of endless mirth to the Irish mus-

keteers. The enemy, however, aided the process by affording ample time for it; for after their repulse they retired for the day three miles off across the Ythan. 1644.

Next morning the Covenanters again moved forward to make a renewed attack, when Montrose, always on the alert, observed five of these troops of horse ascending the hill, near to which there was a small wood. Without a moment's delay he sent forward his fifty horse, with a party of his Irish musketeers, who poured in a volley so well and unexpectedly, that the enemy wheeled about and fled; while the Irish footmen, holding on to the stirrups of the Cavaliers, spread terror and confusion among those who fled. Elated with their success, the Royalists could now scarcely be restrained; but Montrose saw the danger, and, feigning to concur with the zeal of his men, told them that they had best be so far mindful of duty as to wait till he should see the fitting moment to order a general attack. The Marquis then opened fire from every dyke, well lined with skirmishers along his whole front; until the enemy, drawing off his whole array towards evening, again retired behind the Ythan, and never came on again. Yet Montrose did not deem it advisable to come down from his strong ground, or to expose his men to the Covenant horse by descending from the eminence. It was the last day of October before the Royalist camp was lifted at Fyvie, and they marched down once more to Strathbogie. A more remarkable instance of imbecility, or rather pusillanimity, than was exhibited by Argyle on this occasion, could scarcely be conceived. The Covenanters again defeated at Fyvie.

Baffled in all his attempts to overcome Montrose by force of arms, Argyle, whose talents were better fitted for the intrigues of the cabinet, resolved to have recourse to negotiation, and proposed a cessation of arms, and a conference. But the King's Lieutenant was specially averse to treaties of any kind, and, in no de- Montrose declines Argyle's proposition for an armistice, and, deserted by many,

1645. — leaves Strathbogie.

gree staggered at the prospect of another winter in the Highlands, he called a Council of War on the 6th November, and proposed to retire without delay again upon the Spey. It is not perhaps surprising that the feebler minds and constitutions of many of his followers revolted against such trying service, and quitted his colours; so that he had the present mortification of witnessing the defection of some of his best officers. Montrose made no remonstrance; but his disdainful eye betrayed the inward working of his proud and indomitable spirit, indignant at the abandonment of the Royal Cause at such a crisis of the King's fortunes. He nevertheless pursued the course he had announced, and the same evening took his departure from Strathbogie with his Highlanders, and arrived about break of day at Balveny; and if he had few friends to accompany him, he had not an enemy to follow him.

Discontent of Argyle's party: he returns to Edinburgh.

Argyle had dismissed his army, and gone to Edinburgh, where he and Lothian "got but small thanks for their services against Montrose." Some of the Lorn flatterers considered his course praiseworthy "because he had shed no blood." Yet the result of the victories at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, and Fyvie, gave a new turn to the minds of men; and the signal failure of their favourite, and his return to the capital, made many begin to waver, and to doubt as to the policy of the Covenant.

Montrose devastates the territory of Argyle. 13th Dec. 1644—29th Jan. 1645.

As soon, however, as Montrose learnt that his rival had doffed his belted sword, he meditated a blow that should avenge the cruelties so wantonly exercised upon the Royalist clans, and give confidence to those who had been hitherto cowed by a dread of Argyle. He had been joined in Athole by Macdonald of Clanranald, with 500 of his men, and also by some smaller parties whom he had induced to follow him; and it was suggested to him by them to invade the territory of their common enemy. About the end of November in one night he went forth, leading his mountain warriors, straggling

over rocks and through drifted snow, only sustained by the gratification of retaliating upon their enemy the injuries they and their friends had received, and burning with the revenge and desire of gain that always filled the hearts of hostile clans. Montrose divided his force into two parts; one of which, consisting of the Irish and Athole men, he himself led by the head of Loch Tay through Breadalbaine; the other, composed principally of the Macdonalds, took a different route: and both had instructions to meet at an assigned spot on the borders of Argyle. The country through which both divisions passed, being chiefly of the kinsmen or dependants of Argyle, was laid waste by them systematically. These things lasted from the 13th December, 1644, to the 28th or 29th January, 1645, and the ravage extended to within two miles of the Castle of Inverary. The Marquis of Argyle had, on the first advice that Montrose was on the march into his territory, repaired from Edinburgh in haste to his Castle, and had given orders for the assemblement of his clan. Here he seemed to have rested quiet for some time, imagining himself to be secure from any attack even if the Royalists could approach his dwelling, for he was under the impression that at this season, owing to the intricacy of the mountain passes, his fortress was nearly inaccessible, and had been often heard to declare that he would rather forfeit £100,000 than that there should exist an armed enemy to his house that knew these passages into Argyle. While thus reposed in a deceitful security, shepherds from the hills came in with the alarming and unexpected intelligence that the Royalists were already within two miles of him. In terror lest he might fall into the hands of one whose vengeance he had such good reason to dread, as soon as he heard of the near approach of Montrose to his Castle gate, he got himself into a fishing boat on Loch Fyne, and made his escape to Roseneath, where he could best find a safe shelter from this invasion of his ruthless enemy. The inhabitants, being

1645.

1645. thus abandoned by their chief, made no attempt to stop the pillage and ravage of their flocks and herds. The standard proudly streaming, the war-pipe loudly screaming, they danced the "Reel of Howlakin," under the battlements that frowned idly upon them, nor were the people spared; and the loss of hinds and gillies must have been immense: so that the whole country of Argyle, as well as the district of Lorn, became a dreary waste—the entire population being either driven out, slain, or concealed in dens and caves known only to themselves.

Argyle and Baillie join forces, and pursue Montrose.

Montrose was too sagacious and prudent a leader to trust his security for any long time to this condition of things. He knew that the strength of the passes, though they had yielded to his arms, might be turned to his prejudice by a very few desperate or faithful clansmen. He therefore hastened to quit Argyle and Lorn before the few inhabitants that were left could recover themselves, and, passing Glencoe and Lochaber, he made the best of his way under Ben Nevis, and encamped at Killenmurin, where Fort Augustus now stands. This hasty but skilful move placed him nearly at an equal distance from the two bodies of Covenanters whom he knew that he must soon be prepared to meet. Seaforth's army had its head-quarters at Inverness; and Montrose here received information that his active enemy Argyle was already upon his track with about 3000 followers. He was also apprised that the more regular army under General Baillie was also marching through the Lowlands with the view of intercepting him, if these forces should drive him out of the Highlands.

Montrose frames a new Oath, in opposition to the Covenant.

It was a marked characteristic of the great Marquis, that he was a rare politician as well as a military leader. He was always anxious to rest his opposition to Argyle upon a most constitutional basis; and therefore from a place on his march called K'lliewheimen he framed a new oath, which all his leading men signed as a national bond of union in the spirit of Monarchy, in opposition to the Covenant, which was

founded on a democratic basis. This document was signed "on the penult day of January" by Montrose and his son, by the gallant old Earl of Airlie, and by the Macleans, the Macdonalds—the Strowan and Lochiel, the Macgregors, the Macphersons, and other lairds of lesser note. Indeed later in the day it received the signatures of the Gordons, Grants, Mackenzies, and even that of Seaforth himself. Nevertheless Montrose could not at this moment, from various causes, muster above 1500 claymores under his command; but they were in the highest condition after their long foray in the West, and the high blood of Argyleshire beef. Neither were his "redshanks" deficient in bonnet and plaid; indeed a Highland force of any numbers was never more completely equipped. 1645.

Montrose's daring march across the mountains: his unlooked-for appearance before the enemy, 2nd Feb.

Montrose did not give credit to his rival to show himself so prompt in his movement against him as was now reported, and he at first thought that he could have time enough to disperse the septs under the command of Seaforth, and not only prevent their junction with his other opponents, but make him yield Inverness on his approach. Upon further consideration, however, he determined to turn about rapidly, and surprise Argyle before Seaforth's army could join him; for he said, "I wanted the world to see that Argyle was not the man his Highland men believed him to be." He had thirty miles to march from Loch Ness to Lochaber; but, as his object was to fall upon his slippery foe and take him at unawares, he broke up his camp at Killenmurin, and, facing south, he plunged at once into a rugged watercourse called the Tarf, and went straight over the mountains by a line never before attempted by an armed body, and, till then, reckoned quite impassable. No one could have anticipated such a tactic, and the whole conception and accomplishment of it was a veritable stroke of the highest genius; it was great daring combined with scientific calculation and resolute execution. Crossing the Corryarrick, he descended into

1645. the valley of the Spey, and, climbing the range between Glenroy and the Spear, arrived on the skirts of Benneers so weary and exhausted as scarcely to be deemed fit to attack an enemy, for he had accomplished the whole march in little more than a night and a day. He had come across some of Argyle's scouts in the mountains; but these had been promptly cut down and killed, and every precaution was taken that no one should carry intelligence of the movement to the enemy. Some of the clansmen had, however, brought information to the Covenanters of the presence of an armed force in the hills; but they imagined that this body must consist of the inhabitants of the country assembled for the defence of their properties, as they could not credit the fact asserted,—that it was Montrose, who had brought his army across these mountains: nor were they undeceived until in the dawn of the morning of the 2nd February, 1645, the pipes and clarions of the hostile clans resounded through the glens, and roused them from their slumbers. This flourish was given by order of Montrose to salute the Royal Standard, around which were assembled the septs of Keppock, Clanranald, Glengarry, Locheil, Maclean, Macpherson, Macgregor, and Strowan, confronting the clan Campbell in full gathering, with some Government troops.

Great battle of Inverlochy: decisive victory of Montrose: effect of the intelligence upon the King.

Montrose drew out his forces in one extended line: the Highlanders in the centre under their own chiefs; the Irish on the flanks,—the right one commanded by Macdonald, the Major-General,—the left by the brave Colonel O'Kyan. A reserve, consisting principally of Irish, was placed in charge of Colonel James Macdonald, alias O'Neill. The Lowland General made a disposition of his force similar to that of his adversary: the clan Campbell was in the centre; the regulars on either flank: the house of Inverlochy was about a pistol-shot behind this position; and here he placed a field-piece, with about forty or fifty men to protect it. The tactics of all Highland battles are the same. A pure

onslaught, accompanied with great fury and horrid screeching and vociferation. Such warfare, even when it assumes the more regular charge of modern practice, depends almost entirely on the leaders; and if the assault be well directed and resolutely given, it is an affair of a very few minutes. The battle was commenced by O'Kyan: "the bravest of the brave," he overwhelmed in an instant the enemy's right wing of regulars. Montrose followed it by leading on his Highlanders against the Campbells. These, deprived of their chief, turned about and fled; and the whole army, including the reserve, took to their heels. An attempt was made to hold the Castle of Inverlochy; but, "by push of pike and dint of sword," the Covenanters could not stand. A very black cloud hangs over the reputation of the Marquis of Argyle, for that he went away from his army as soon as he knew that he was again confronted by Montrose, and, taking advantage of the vicinity of a sea-loch, entered a barge, in which he sat during the conflict about to ensue, leaving the command of his troops to his cousin Campbell, of Auchinbrech. The Laird of Auchinbrech was killed; and the Lowland gentlemen, seeing all lost, and being without a leader, surrendered, and were honourably treated and had liberty given them on parole. On the side of Montrose's army there were but four killed, including Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie, and about 200 wounded. There were about 1500 slain of the enemy, among whom were several gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and many Lairds were among the prisoners. But the great effect of this victory was, that the power and influence of the clan Campbell, which, after having been for ages formidable to all their neighbours, were by this overthrow entirely broken. The Highlanders, being essentially attached to the Crown, and a warlike people, offered themselves to Montrose with great willingness for His Majesty's service. The day after 1645.

1645. — the victory the conqueror sent off a despatch to the King by Mr. May, which reached His Majesty on the 19th February, at the moment when the Royal and Parliamentary Commissioners were discussing the terms of a peace at Uxbridge; and Charles was induced by the wonderful success of his great General at Inverlochy to become more stiff, and eventually to break off the negotiations,—a circumstance which materially led to his ultimate disasters and ruin.

Montrose takes up his quarters at Elgin, 19th Feb.

The Marquis, after having allowed five or six days for the refreshment of his men after their victory, returned northward, and came through the mountains of Lochaber to Loch Ness, and so over the Monagh Lea Hills, and across the Spey, with a determination to dispose of Seaforth, as he had already disposed of Argyle. But Seaforth was nowhere to be found; and Montrose carried the victorious banner of the King within sight of the walls of Inverness. But he found the town too strongly garrisoned for any attempt to capture it, and therefore, continuing his march along the south side of the Spey, he entered Moray without opposition; and, without allowing himself to be stopped by a deputation of Lairds who had been sent to treat with him, he found the city of Elgin deserted, and he at once took up his quarters there on the 19th February. The Castle of Spynie, however, was well fortified and garrisoned by the Laird of Innes and his friends, and had been provided with every necessary to stand a siege. However, without being much disconcerted by any danger from that quarter, Montrose gave orders that every boat on the Spey should be withdrawn to the north bank, and watched, that he might have no intrusion upon his quarters from the South.

Montrose is joined by Lord Gordon, and by Seaforth: he visits

Montrose was joined on his arrival at Elgin by the Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntley. He was nephew to Argyle, but for a long season had unwillingly submitted to him, until now, being with

his kinsman Nathaniel Gordon at the Bog of Gicht, they both sprang upon their horses as soon as they heard of the victory of Inverlochy, and "saluted" Montrose. Nor was this all;—for another most unexpected, yet not undistinguished guest came likewise into Elgin—Lord Seaforth himself—whose army had utterly abandoned him. The Killiewheimen Bond was forthwith "taked;" and the Gordons, and Seaforth, and many others of less note, put their names to it. This done, Montrose allowed the Earl of Seaforth, the Laird of Grant, and other Moray gentlemen, to return home to protect their estates, now threatened by the garrisoned Covenanters of Inverness, while he himself, on the 4th March, accepted the invitation of Lord Gordon to repair to Gordon Castle. 1645. Gordon Castle, 4th March.

Montrose had been accompanied through all his late campaigns by his eldest son, Lord Graham, a youth of sixteen years of age, and of great promise, but of a delicate constitution. The late arduous mountain warfare had been too much for him, and he sickened and died in this princely mansion of the Chief of the Gordons. It was the first severe domestic affliction of Montrose's life, but the bereaved parent had no leisure to shed tears over the tomb of his child. Having consigned his remains to the earth in the Kirk of Bellie, he was again in the saddle in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen on the 9th March. With the assistance of the Gordons he had got together an army of 2000 foot and 200 horse; and, having successively crossed the Dee and the Grampians, he came down towards Brechin, to look after General Baillie and the regulars. Death of Montrose's eldest son: collects his forces near Aberdeen, 9th March.

The Marquis encamped at Fettercairn, within seven miles of Brechin, where Sir John Urry, a well-known distinguished English cavalry officer, was at this time quartered with 800 horse, being second in command to General Baillie. On the 12th March the Marquis sent to Aberdeen with directions to look up recruits. Urry commits to prison Montrose's second son, 12th March.

1645. Urry's old soldiership led him to expect, when he heard of this, that the military, on visiting a populous town, would be very likely to neglect precautions, and followed after them with 200 men. On entering the city he found them all at their revels; and placing sentinels at the gates, he held them all at his mercy till the morning. In returning he made prisoner of the Marquis's second son, now the Lord Graham, a boy of fourteen years of age, at school in Montrose, and he was committed prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. Donald Farquharson was killed in this foray; and, to add to the Chief's troubles, old Lord Airlie fell dangerously ill, and had to be conveyed to Strathbogie with an escort of 800 claymores to protect him in his removal.

Montrose, impatient for action, offers Baillie choice of ground.

Montrose was now brought to confront Baillie's army with only the little river Isla between them. For some days the adversaries continued to eye each other, to the dread of the surrounding inhabitants, who did not know which of the two armies they were to consider their masters. At length the patience of our hero was exhausted, and he sent a trumpeter to Baillie to offer him a challenge, and pledged his honour that he would await his attack on whichever bank of the stream he might select. "Tell Montrose," replied the Covenanting General, "that when I am disposed to engage, it shall be at my own, and not another's choice[9]."

Defection of the Gordons:

Montrose passed several days in sight of the enemy, for he could not attempt without cavalry to cross the

[9] This General Baillie was a natural son, who had served in the wars under Gustavus Adolphus, and was by reason of his service preferred to the command of the Covenanters' army. He had two sons, who by marriage became ancestors of Lord Forrester of Corstorphine. He was not a great military character, but he at least acted in this matter in a more soldierlike style than Montrose. To offer to decide so imminent a condition of affairs by a duel, was only worthy of a boy of high spirit, not of the great Marquis.

water of Isla in opposition to a force so greatly superior to his own. He therefore moved away to Dunkeld, as if to cross the Tay; on which Baillie withdrew to Perth, to oppose the passage of the river: but an unexpected misfortune disarranged his whole plan. The Gordons were always the bane or the blessing of Montrose. Lord Gordon, as he hoped, had attached them to his standard; but now Lewis Gordon, Lord Gordon's brother, who had borne arms on the Covenanters' side, and had only been reconciled to the King's party by his brother's mediation, privately seduced many of the clan to a new defection. This desertion very much disconcerted the Marquis, for it now rendered it absolutely necessary for him to place the Grampian hills between his adversary and himself. But, while preparing for his march northwards, he thought it might add a *prestige* to his name if he could achieve something of moment; and as Dundee had always been inimical to the King's cause, he determined to surprise and punish it. Having sent off the weaker part of his troops and his baggage to the bottom of the hills, he sent Lord Gordon and General Macdonald to storm the town with 800 men, while the Marquis, with about 200 musketeers, marched with such incredible rapidity as to arrive at the Law of Dundee at ten o'clock in the morning. He then sent in a summons, with a threat to fire the town if it would not surrender. But the townspeople did not instantly answer; on which the King's troops marched to the assault in three bodies: and Montrose's messenger was thereupon committed to the tolbooth. But the citizens could not resist the impetuosity of the Royalists' attack, but the troops on gaining admission resorted to indiscriminate plunder. The cannon that was found in the town was turned against it, and for several hours it was on fire in several places. The sack was continued till evening, and with all the excesses that an infuriated soldiery, maddened by intoxication, could indulge in. While Montrose

1645.

Montrose takes Dundee, but, forced by Baillie to retire, effects a masterly retreat.

1645. beheld this condition of things from the height of the Law, 3000 foot and 800 horse, with Baillie and Urry at their head, were seen marching down the Carse of Gowrie in great haste. The Marquis forthwith sent in to recall his troops out of the city, and, following up the order with his own presence, he collected together the drunk and the sober, and before the sun went down he got all his men together, when driving the former before the latter, and covering the rear with the few horse he had, and which he himself commanded, he marched away at once in full retreat, leaving few or none behind him, in the direction of Arbroath. It was about six o'clock in the evening when the last of his troops quitted Dundee; and Baillie marched in at the same hour.

Although the General's chase immediately commenced the same afternoon, yet, owing to the darkness of the night, Montrose continued his march with little molestation, and arrived in the vicinity of Arbroath at midnight,—a march of nearly twenty miles. Their safety, notwithstanding, might yet have been endangered by allowing a repose till daylight, so that, although they had passed a long time without any sleep, the Marquis entreated his soldiers to proceed; and, although nearly exhausted by their fatigue, they readily yielded to his importunity, and obeyed the orders of their General; accordingly after a short halt they proceeded on their route in a north-westerly direction, and crossed the South Esk at sunrise, near Carriston Castle, and gained the fortresses of the Grampians through Glenesk. This daring march, which lasted three days and three nights, over sixty miles of ground, has been esteemed by the most experienced officers of all nations as a singularly remarkable military feat. It completely foiled Baillie, who had imagined that at Forfar he had entirely cut off all possibility of Montrose's escape; and, indeed, the banner of the King seemed at this moment to be of necessity driven into

the sea. The invaluable tactic of mixing the musketeers with the cavalry, by which Montrose, acting on the practice of the great Gustavus, already anticipated the bayonet, prevented Urry and his horse from touching the flank of the "Redshanks" in their toilsome progress, and conduced very much to the success of the manœuvre. 1645.

Bitter was Baillie's mortification at seeing Montrose thus elude his grasp, and so chagrined was he, that he galloped off at full speed to overtake in person the Marquis, in the hope of preventing him from reaching the Grampians. He was indeed close upon his heels before notice was given of his approach, and the entire Royalist force were stretched on the ground in a state of profound repose, and could with the utmost difficulty be aroused from the deep slumber occasioned by their exhaustion, and made sensible of their danger. The sentinels sent with this object were literally obliged to prick the soldiers with the points of their swords before they could be awakened. As fast as they could be got into order they began a skirmish, and under this protection the rest got safely to the foot of the hills up to Glenesk, about three miles distant from their resting place: and being now at length free from all danger in the fastnesses of the mountains, the Marquis was enabled to allow his men to refresh themselves for some days. Baillie pursues, but is baffled by Montrose, who escapes to the Grampians.

But Montrose was not a day idle in the Grampians. He entreated Lord Gordon to proceed into his own country, and, if possible, to reclaim his wayward brother. General Macdonald, with a regiment of Irish, was sent further into the Highlands to obtain fresh levies; while another chief was ordered to Athole on the same errand. Montrose himself remained in his camp without a friend to cheer him. He was, however, constantly on the alert, and one day entered Crieff, in Strathern, close to the leaguers of Baillie, when that General thought he was lying quiet in the Gram- Montrose seeks reinforcements: Urry fails to surprise him, 17th April.

1645. pians. Urry, hearing of this from his scouts, put himself into immediate movement. But Montrose marched off in the night to Loch Ern, and the next day, being 18th April, to Balghidder.

Montrose, reinforced, compels Urry to retreat to Inverness.

Intelligence here reached the Marquis that he might expect to be joined by Viscount Aboyne, Lord Huntley's second son, who had made his escape out of Carlisle, then beleaguered by the Parliamentarians: and on the 19th April he joined the Standard in Menteith, accompanied by a few horsemen. On the 21st he was further joined by the Master of Napier his nephew, Hay of Dalgetty, and Stirling of Keir, who had all been hiding and wandering in the mountains in search of the hero whose exploits they had heard of, and whose adventures they were most anxious to share. They had scarcely time to express their joy at meeting one another when intelligence came in, that a division of the Covenanting army, under Urry, was in full march on Aberdeen. Judging that the object of this attack was to interrupt Lord Gordon in the North, and fearing that this active and experienced general officer would, by his superior skill and strength, overpower the gallant young nobleman, the friends determined not to lose a moment in saving their kinsman from such imminent danger. Montrose, whose heart was ever with the Gordons, crossed the Dee near Balmoral, and was at Skene about the end of the month. Being sadly in want of ammunition, Aboyne undertook with eighty horse to try his luck in obtaining some from Aberdeen; and with great boldness and judgment actually entered the town, and, boarding two vessels in the port, brought away twenty barrels of gunpowder. To add to the success, Lord Gordon came in to the Royalists here with 1000 foot and 200 horse, and General Macdonald with his recruited division. Thus reinforced and well provided with ammunition, Montrose, ever active, made himself ready for battle, and went directly to the Spey to find out the enemy. The sudden appearance of

Montrose with such an army greatly alarmed Urry, who did not imagine he had as yet crossed the Grampians. He therefore raised his camp in great haste, with the intention of marching to Inverness. The Marquis was immediately upon his heels, and followed the Covenanting army through Elgin and Forres, but could not hinder them from reaching their destination. 1645. —

Montrose prepares for action. Urry is joined by Seaforth.

Montrose therefore halted his troops on Thursday the 8th May at the village of Aulderne, three or four miles from the town of Nairn; and here he formed his army in order of battle. The position was an eminence overlooking a valley; and the village was covered by a few dikes (which were of service for the defence), as well as the rugged sides of the ravine. The Marquis thought it politic to conceal the disproportion of his force, for his adversary had again strengthened himself by the accession of no less a chieftain than Seaforth, who had brought four regiments perfectly equipped and disciplined, and had carried the influence of his name back to the adversary's ranks. Montrose therefore contrived to conceal nearly the whole of his men behind these natural fortifications. General Urry was thought to have now 3500 foot and 400 horse, while the Royalists only numbered 1500 foot and 250 horse in position; and Baillie, with a yet more formidable force, was marching with all expedition towards the Spey. It was therefore with great reluctance that Montrose resolved to risk a battle with an enemy more than double in strength in regard to numbers, and composed in a great measure of regular troops; but Urry, seeing his advantage, was resolved to give battle immediately.

Battle of Aulderne: total rout of the Covenanters, 9th May.

Montrose's right wing was placed under Alexander Macdonald with 400 foot on the north of the village of Aulderne; and they were specially directed not to leave their station, which admitted of good defence against cavalry. At the same time the Royal Standard, which

1645. was a remarkable charge, and one which on former occasions was always carried before the King's Lieutenant himself, was consigned to this division, which he rightly thought might draw the whole strength of the attack upon the impregnable point. The rest of his forces he carried to the opposite wing to the south of the village, placing his horse under the charge of Lord Gordon, and taking the direction of the foot himself. As soon as Urry observed the garish yellow Standard in the midst of some isolated hedges and dikes away from the horse, he despatched the best part of his horse under Drummoud, as Montrose had happily conjectured he would do. The Marquis intently watched the moment of which he might avail himself to fall with the whole weight of his left wing upon the centre of the Covenanters. But, bravely as Macdonald defended himself, Urry constantly relieved his men, as they were borne down by the defence, with fresh troops; until at length Macdonald was so taunted by the veteran Drummond, who opposed him, that, in disobedience to the Marquis's positive orders, he emerged from the enclosures, and was immediately fallen upon with great vigour by his antagonist, the lion-hearted McColl, son of Coll Keitache, Davidson of Ardnacross—Donald the son of Angus Mackinnon and many others distinguished themselves at this trying moment, and, almost "against the grain," ordered the men back to their enclosures. But news of the disaster that had befallen his right wing was brought to Montrose by one whose prudence and fidelity he could rely upon; and this gave occasion to one of those remarkable instances of daring and genius that so highly distinguished that great commander. Apparently not disconcerned at the information, and with remarkable presence of mind, he immediately exclaimed to Lord Gordon "What are we doing here so idle, my dear Lord? Our friend Macdonald is gaining a victory single-handed! Come—come, my Lord Gordon, shall

we look on, and have no laurels for the house of Huntley? Charge!" and then Montrose and Gordon, leading forward the horse into the midst of Drummond's cavalry, came down like a whirlwind from the opposite side, and cut down some of the bravest of the veterans, who could not withstand the sudden shock, and wheeled about and fled. The Covenanting foot, though now deserted by their horse, stood bravely for a time; but, brought to close combat with an impetuous onset by the "red-shanks," they literally threw away their arms, and took to their heels; Montrose, like a good General, allowed this *mêlée* to continue while he went in person to see after the Royal Standard, and to learn how Macdonald fared. This General was brave to a fault, and a better soldier than a General; and there the Marquis found him, protecting the Standard and defending his own body with a large target. With one stroke of his claymore he had stricken one man's head clean off; and, when assailed by some spearmen so close as that their spears became fixed in his target, he cut them off with his broadsword by three or four at a stroke. Montrose's presence not only restored the fight, but threw the assailants into alarm. Mungo Lawers, the last warrior chief of his clan, being slain at the head of his regiment, they gave way, and Drummond, making a blundering movement in wheeling his men about, broke the ranks of the line of infantry, and occasioned considerable confusion, which ended in his overthrow; and for this he was, after the battle, tried by a Court Martial, and shot. 1645.

Sixteen colours, all the baggage and ammunition, and between 2000 and 3000 slain, were the result of the victory of Aulderne to Montrose. Urry was the last to leave the battle-field; but nevertheless he was carried away in the rout, and was found the following morning at Inverness. The Marquis took many prisoners, whom he treated with great kindness, winning the good opinion of several, who expressed to

1645. him their sorrow at having joined the ranks of his enemies. A despatch of Montrose announcing the victory is given by Mark Napier:—

"For my loving friend the good man of Buckie.—Having directed some of our wounded men to the Boge (Gordon Castle), I could not but congratulate our victory yesterday unto you, which, by the blessing of God, hath been very absolute, as you will learn particularly from those who were present at the battle. So being confident of your constant resolution and fidelity I remain your loving friend,

"MONTROSE.

"Aulderne, 10th May, 1645."

Montrose vengefully retaliates on his foes.

It is sad to have to record that the first use the hero made of the victory was vengefully to ravage with fire and sword the unhappy homes of his enemies. The houses of the Earl of Moray, and Campbell of Calder, who were absent in England, were plundered of all their effects on the 12th. Many of the inhabitants of Elgin, and Garmouth, and the adjoining district, were burnt to death. However, at the same time, his men were allowed to refresh themselves, and the wounded were housed and cared for. Then on the 14th, having confided the whole of the baggage, booty, and warlike stores that had fallen into his hands, to the care of a faithful adherent in the stronghold of Blair of Athole, the Marquis marched his army across the Spey, and advanced by Keith and Frendraught to Strathbogie. He called, as he passed, to inquire after his sick men at the Bog of Gicht, and quartered himself and his men at Bischerbog, the seat of "a great Covenanter," from whence he continued his ravages, burning, robbing, and destroying. "The popular estimate of Montrose, that his military achievements and merit went no further than the prompt, energetic, and successful leading of wild caterans from one desperate

encounter to another, was never more triumphantly gainsayed than by his employment in quality of General at this important epoch. Under greater difficulties than any commander of his time or since, he had to create a commissariat, to maintain and keep alive the necessary communications with his supplies, and to obtain intelligence upon which his critical movements depended, to preserve discipline in his half savage camp, and to win back or keep true the many insubordinate rovers in his ever fluctuating fortunes, and to provide for the sick and wounded; while at the same time he was destitute of money or other resources than what he could collect by the fire and sword of his successes. In the exercise, also, of his Royal Commission, independently of his duty as General, he had to act with discriminative forbearance and control, to sustain the spirit and restrain the impatience of his overtaxed followers, to rouse the loyal, to reclaim the capricious, and to conciliate the jealous; especially of the more influential of the Royalist party, who, from the first, ought to have afforded him their cordial, unqualified, and unvarying support, yet who never ceased to throw obstacles in the way of his success in the cause of the Monarch, whose only champion he was[1]."

1672.

But once more did our hero find himself between two formidable armies, each outnumbering his own, and whose junction might effect his utter ruin. About the middle of May, Baillie, with at least 2000 foot and 200 horse, was at Huntley Castle, having moved up from Cromar immediately after he heard of the defeat of his colleague at Aulderne. And another Commander was moving up to Baillie's assistance from the south side of the Grampians,—the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who was the principal leader of the Covenanters next to Argyle. It was on 19th May

Baillie, Lindsay, and Urry combine their forces: Montrose skilfully provides for his defence.

[1] Mark Napier.

1645. when Montrose, lying at Bischerbog, was informed that Lord Lindsay, or as he now called himself, Crawford, had passed with an army into Angus, to act as a reserve to Baillie; and that Baillie himself had rejoined Urry, and had arrived in the vicinity of Strathbogie. The victors of Aulderne had not yet recovered from the fatigues of the campaign, and, as usual, most of the Highlanders had gone off to the mountains with the booty they had taken. The General, therefore, thought it more expedient to avoid an engagement if possible, and rather to retire to his fastnesses to recruit his exhausted strength, than risk another battle with a force so greatly superior to any strength he could hope to muster. It was necessary to deceive his adversary, however, and accordingly as soon as he heard that Baillie was so near him, he began to collect obstacles and to raise fortifications, as if he intended to dispute possession of his camp. But as soon as the darkness of night fell, Montrose marched his infantry to the south side of the Spey,—leaving his horse to cover their retreat,—and went towards Balveny. Thither the enemy pursued him; and the Marquis, passing through Strathdon and Strathspey, went to the entry of "Badenoch, where, both for inaccessible rocks and the interposition of the river, it was impossible to come at him." Here the Royalists could, without the fear of molestation, set Baillie at defiance, for to attack this stronghold was out of the question—and from this well-chosen position Montrose sent out parties by day and by night to harass and beat up the quarters of the enemy, who found it expedient, after a day or two "looking one upon another," to march northward to Inverness, to obtain supplies and provender for the horses.

Defection of the Gordons.

Having thus got rid of Baillie, Montrose, always on the alert, resolved to make a descent into Angus, where he learnt that Crawford lay at the Castle of Newtyle. He arrived by a rapid march on the banks

of the Airlie, within seven miles of his adversary, who knew nothing of his approach; and every thing was ready to finish the expedition with triumph, when an unexpected occurrence put an end to the design. This was the sudden defection of the Gordons through the caprice of Aboyne, or his jealous father, but to the deep concern of Lord Gordon, who was most indignant at it, and who was prevented with difficulty from punishing with death such of his retainers as he could overtake. Instead, therefore, of reaping the victory thus in a manner wrested out of his hands, the Royal Lieutenant was constrained to march away northward, and allow Baillie and Crawford to unite their armies in a camp on the Deeside in the Lower Mar. Montrose, having despatched Lord Gordon and Macdonald to the Highlands again, to bring back by their influence such men as they could collect, took up a strong position at the Castle of Corgarff in Strathdon, where Baillie showed no disposition to disturb him, while Crawford, tired of camp soldiering, carried off his men on a plundering expedition into Athole and Angus. 1645.

Montrose and Baillie prepare for battle near Alford, 1st July.

Baillie, about the end of June, marched off his own force towards Strathbogie to lay siege to the Marquis of Huntley's Castle at the Bog of Gight; but this stronghold of the North had been put into a proper state of defence, and was commanded by John Gordon of Buckie, a staunch friend of the Royal cause, as we have seen. Montrose, however, with a view of letting slip no opportunity of earning the attachment of the Gordons, resolved to follow Baillie; and being again joined by Lord Gordon and the recreant Aboyne, he thought himself able to fight him, and accordingly marched straight up to him. He found his cavalry in possession of a very narrow pass near Keith, but upon Montrose making the attempt to push them through, he was stopped by the musketeers, and could not make the passage good. The Marquis therefore

1645. found himself obliged to have recourse to strategy to draw Baillie from this stronghold. Accordingly he marched off to the Castle of Druminnor, belonging to the Lord Forbes, and here he pitched his camp for two days. The Covenanting General, being led to believe by this passage across the river Don that Montrose intended to march away south, followed the march of the Royalists with the determination to risk a battle, and came up with them near Alford on the 1st July.

Order of battle.

On the following morning the two armies were found within about four miles of each other; and Montrose made immediate dispositions to receive his antagonist. The position he assumed was a little hill in the rear of the village. Behind was some marshy ground, full of ditches and pits, which he thought might prevent the superior force of the enemy's cavalry from falling on his rear; and in front stood a steep hill, which so far concealed the amount of his force, that his opponents could scarcely see his first rank. He gave the command of the right wing to Lord Gordon and Sir Nathaniel Gordon, and the left he committed to Lord Aboyne and Sir William Rollock. The main body rested under the command of Glengarry and young Drummond of Ballach; while the reserve was under the command of the Marquis's own nephew, the Master of Napier. The Standard was protected by a few choice Cavaliers under the eye of Montrose himself. After Baillie had reconnoitered the ground there was a dead pause for a time, as if each was unwilling to begin the combat. Now for the first time in the whole war there was something of an equality between the combatants: the numbers were about equal; and Baillie's army consisted of as many raw and undisciplined levies as that of Montrose. The Covenanting cavalry, however, more than doubled the horse of the Royalists: they were commanded by the gallant Earl of Balcarras. He is said to have been eager to measure swords with Montrose; but he warned his followers

that the Highlanders opposed to them were in the habit of making the first onset, and that they should not allow them this advantage, but engage them instantly. 1645.

The Lord Gordon began the battle at the head of the Royalist horse. "Let none doubt," said the gallant heir of Huntley, "that I will bring Baillie out by the throat from the centre of his men." He was nearly as good as his word; but, while in the act of seizing the General by the sword-belt, a shot struck him from the enclosures, and laid him low upon the ground. Montrose rode up and ordered back the horse, expecting that Baillie's infantry, who were ensconced among the obstacles of the ground, would leave their fastnesses and follow them. Nor was he wrong in this; for the Covenanters, thinking them to be in full retreat, advanced, and both armies came into close contact. Sir Nathaniel Gordon called upon his musketeers, who were mixed with his horse, to throw aside their muskets, and "cut their horses' hamstrings with your swords." This order was promptly obeyed, and they hewed down the Covenanters with great slaughter. The enemy's foot, being thus deserted by their horse, were exposed to a furious onset from Napier's reserve, which lay on the side of the hill unperceived by the enemy; and at the sight of these fresh troops the regiments gave ground and fled. The fall of the young Lord Gordon became by this time known to the clan, who fell upon the enemy in their rage with a vigour that could not be withstood, and the entire line of the Covenanters turned and fled with precipitation. The Gordons pursued them with great slaughter; and the Marquis of Argyle, who was on the field, only escaped by the fleetness of his horse; as did Baillie likewise. The battle of Alford, brilliant among the well-contested encounters that Montrose had yet fought, was clouded by the fall of Lord Gordon, whose death seemed to eclipse all the glory of the victory. Montrose could not restrain his grief for his young and dear friend thus cut off in the

Death of Lord Gordon: rout of the Covenanters.

1645. flower of his age. He, with all or the greater part of his forces, accompanied the corpse to its interment with solemn funeral obsequies in the vault belonging to the family in the cathedral of Aberdeen.

Sad state of the King's affairs: a pestilence in the North: the Parliament appoints Baillie to the command of a new army, July.

The successive victories of Montrose in Scotland might have proved of essential service to Charles the First in England, had not his Majesty's affairs already taken a downhill tendency, which had culminated in the defeat of the Royalists at Naseby on the 14th June. From that time the fortunes of the King's cause had gone from bad to worse; and no benefit seemed possible to accrue from any favourable events that might happen in the Northern Kingdom. A pestilence of great malignity compelled the Scottish Parliament to move away from Edinburgh to Stirling, whither Baillie repaired to render an account of his defeat. He did not shrink from all the responsibility attaching to him for the loss of the battle of Alford, offered to stand his trial, and threw up his Commission. But the Covenanters could not dispense, in the present dearth of military talent on their side, with an officer of the professional character of General Baillie; and therefore, after some discussion and dispute, they passed a vote of thanks to him for his services, and, to his great annoyance, compelled him to retain his Commission by appointing him to the command of a new army of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, which had been ordered to rendezvous at Perth on the 24th July, to which day the Parliament also was adjourned from Stirling, in consequence of the continued sickness.

Huntley joins the the Royalists; Assembly of the Covenanters convoked at Perth, 24th July.

After gaining the victory at Alford, Montrose, instead of following after his defeated enemy, moved off into the district of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, which, from its outlying situation, had hitherto escaped assessment for the supply of either of the contending armies. Lord Aboyne had now become Lord Gordon by the death of his elder brother; and the Marquis of Huntley, his father, was returning to his hereditary estates, and

was now disposed once more to throw the influence of his name and authority into the Royal scale. He therefore undertook to levy recruits in the Highlands, while the King's Lieutenant planted the Royal Standard at Craigston, betwixt the Don and the Dee, a few miles from Aberdeen, where he also hoped to be joined by reinforcements under Macdonald. Here he remained for some time; but as these expected succours did not arrive within the time appointed, Montrose, impatient of delay, quitted his quarters at Craigston, and, crossing the Grampians, descended into the Mearns, in Kincardineshire, where he pitched his camp at Fordoun Chapel. He now received intelligence of the assembly of the Covenanters in great strength at Perth, where all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors were required by a mandate of the Parliament, and under a penalty, to attend well mounted, and with such forces as they could raise, on or before the 24th July. 1645.

Montrose, strongly reinforced, seeks to disperse the Parliament at Perth.

Montrose therefore formed a design of marching onwards towards Perth, and breaking up the Parliament there assembled. Accordingly proceeding on his march, he continued it into Angus and to Dunkeld. Here he had the good fortune to be successively joined by his cousin Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, with his brave Athole men, by his Major-General Macdonald with the Macleans,—animated to a man with hatred towards Argyle,—by the Captain of Clanranald, a name of great renown among the Highlanders, and by the M'Gregors and the M'Nabs, two clans inferior to none in bravery and activity,—and last, not least, by Glengarry himself, who merits singular commendation for his steady loyalty to the King, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose, whom he had never turned from since the famous raid into Argyleshire. Besides all these, he was joined by the Stewarts of Appin,—the Farquharsons from the Braes of Mar,—and some other septs of real courage and bravery from Badenoch. But he was more than ever deficient in

1645. strength of horse, for which he depended entirely upon the exertions of the Earls of Aboyne and Airlie, who had returned to the North expressly to obtain some strength in this important arm: so that Montrose was held back for a time from his object; and it was not till the end of July that he took up his camp at Amulree, on the high road from Aberfeldy to Crieff.

A detachment of Montrose's cavalry alarms the citizens of Perth.

The Covenanters had already assembled a force of 6000 strong, with 400 horse, especially appointed to protect the Parliament; and Perth was also garrisoned. Nevertheless there was great consternation in the fair city when there appeared a body of cavalry advancing to the gates, which it was soon bruited belonged to the dreaded columns of Montrose. They were scarcely 100 in number, although every quadruped was put into requisition to give them the appearance of a formidable body that might create a panic among the civilians. The Covenanters' cavalry were afraid to venture out to meet them; and having thus accomplished his object of keeping the enemy's horse at home to protect the timid, the Marquis coolly turned aside to cross the Erne by the fords at Dupplen; and he then proceeded to reconnoitre the whole Strath with great deliberation, and without any interruption.

Montrose's marksmen discomfit Urry's cavalry sent in pursuit: the Marquis forms a strong camp at Little Dunkeld, 1st Aug.

The enemy, however, soon learnt that the show of horse made by Montrose was only a false muster; and they took courage, and marched out towards the wood of Methven, resolved to bring him to an engagement. Our hero thought it prudent to retire from his camp, and to withdraw within the passes of the mountains. But to enable him to carry off his heavy baggage, he determined to show front, and drew up his army behind the river of Almond as if he intended to fight; disposing his horse, lined as usual with his best musketeers, to protect his rear. Then he ordered his army to move off in a body with closed ranks. As soon as Baillie perceived the Royalists to be in retreat, he despatched Urry with the cavalry in pursuit: but

Montrose had almost arrived at the passes before he was overtaken. Just as he had reached the passes his pursuers charged his rear with 300 picked horsemen, who came on boldly with shouts and very insulting language. The Marquis was never for a moment without some of the many resources of war which are of so much real value to a commanding General. He had told off about twenty gillies, well accustomed to the chase, and good marksmen, whom he made to crawl on their hands and knees within the heather. These men took each such deliberate aim, that the saddles of the leaders were all emptied one after another; when the troopers, without their officers, were put to a shamful rout, and thrown into irretrievable confusion. The enemy, however, got possession of Montrose's camp in the wood of Methven, where many of the women of his army were taken and shamefully used. But on the 1st August we find him stopped and quartered at Little Dunkeld, which from the nature of the ground,—impracticable against cavalry,—he judged to be a favourable station to await the reinforcements of horse which he expected that Lord Aboyne would bring up to him from the north country. 1645.

Here, in this suspense, we find the great Commander intently occupied in those pursuits which afford another interesting illustration of his high military genius,—giving his whole attention to particulars of every kind, and especially indefatigable in providing sustenance for his army. The Covenanters made no attempt to disturb Montrose in these most important duties, nor to dislodge him from his "Leaguer at Little Dunkeld," where he patiently awaited the arrival of his friends, who at length brought him 200 horse—a force much smaller than he had expected. Nevertheless there came also with them some choice Cavaliers, who were at this moment of immense value to the Standard[2], first and foremost among whom was the The Earl of Airlie, and other Cavaliers, join Montrose.

[2] Mark Napier.

1645. — Earl of Airlie, now restored to health,—who came with his son, and eighty gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, all mounted on horses.

Daring and successful exploit of Sir W. Rollo and N. Gordon.

Montrose, having now obtained all the reinforcements he could expect at this time, raised his camp, and proceeded to dislodge the Covenanters from the wood of Methven, who retired across the Erne, and assumed a position at Kilgraston, behind the bridge. The Marquis, descending into the Lowlands, learnt at Logie Almond that many of the Highland auxiliaries had deserted from Baillie's army; and it was important for his further object to ascertain whether this information was correct. He therefore sent forward Sir William Rollo, and Nathaniel Gordon, who has been immortalized by Sir Walter Scott as having been "one of the bravest men and best soldiers in Europe." The French have an expression for a duty in this service, of which it is difficult to give an adequate translation—*tâtonner*, "to advance by touch;" and while our leaders were thus feeling their way with a party of ten, they came suddenly upon 200 of the enemy, chiefly horse. Retreat was out of the question, and daring is very frequently a better substitute. They at once advanced upon their opponents, who made no attempt at resistance, but quietly retired within their lines. And when Montrose himself reconnoitred these early next morning, he found them abandoned. The occupants had all withdrawn in the night, and crossed the bridge of Erne.

Montrose urges the King to remove to Scotland: the demolition of Baillie's army his sole object now.

Montrose determined now on the only move which seemed likely to retrieve in the least the rapidly declining fortunes of the King in England. He had repeatedly written to urge His Majesty to remove in person to Scotland; and as an expedient it was "now or never." He resolved to cross the Forth, in order that, if he could carry success with him to the South, he might be enabled to give his hand to Charles on the border. It was a chivalrous scheme, worthy

of Montrose, but perfectly impracticable in the extremities to which the Royalist party was now reduced in England. Nevertheless, at no former period of his eventful career did the probabilities of success appear more hopeful to the ardent expectations of the Marquis. His army, devoted heart and soul to the Royal cause, was composed of 5000 foot and 500 horse. The Highland clans were officered by their own leaders, many of them burning to retaliate injuries upon the partisans of Argyle; and Montrose was for once fortunate at having, with such a force under his command, all his strength concentrated, and all his energies available in pursuit of one military object against one combined enemy in his front:—the destruction of Baillie's army became the sole and immediate object of the campaign. 1645.

Baillie encamps near to Montrose's position at Kilsyth, 14th Aug.

Leaving, therefore, the Covenanting army in their strong post at Kilgraston, Montrose marched up the Erne, and crossing the river by the bridge of Gask, eight miles higher up, and with the view of disturbing the levies still in progress in Fife, he made a demonstration upon Kinross, where encamping his men in the wood of Tullibody, he presented himself at the Castle of Alloa, where he was liberally entertained by the Earl of Mar. The men of Fife were stern Covenanters; nevertheless they had no relish for war in their own country, and, hearing of Montrose's presence there, they speedily quitted Baillie's camp; and this had the effect desired, for the Covenanting General broke up from his stronghold, and descended after the Royalists. Montrose then directed his march to the bridge of Donne, and, crossing both the Teith and the Forth, proceeded to Kilsyth, where he found so advantageous a position, that he resolved to halt there. By this manœuvre he succeeded in throwing open to the operations of his army the whole of the country south of the Tay, from which he had been hitherto carefully excluded. Baillie continued to follow him, and now took

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1645. up his camp within three miles of that of Montrose, on the 14th August.

Numbers and condition of the adverse forces on the eve of the battle of Kilsyth.

The scouts that Montrose sent forth brought him such information as made him resolve to bring his adversary to immediate action. The Fife regiments could scarcely be brought to cross the Forth, and had positively refused to pass Stirling, until their obstinacy had been overcome by the powerful influence of the Presbyteries, who had entreated them to remain, "if only for one day more." The object of this condition was soon rendered apparent. The intelligence came in that the Earl of Lanark, brother to the Duke of Hamilton, had raised 1000 men, and, being joined by the Earls of Cassilis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, had arrived already within twelve miles of Kilsyth. Baillie already counted in his camp 6000 foot and 800 horse, so that Montrose was already greatly outnumbered; nevertheless he judged it absolutely necessary to bring his adversary to action before this reinforcement, which was expected also to be followed by others, could be put into array against him. The one incident which gave advantage to the Marquis over his assailant was, that he held the unquestioned supreme command, while the Covenanting General was hampered by the counsels of Argyle, Tullibardine, Crawford, Lindsay, Balcarras, Burleigh, and Elcho: and General Baillie has left on record that a few days previously, while halting near the King's Park at Stirling, he had come to an open rupture with this "joint-stock company" of command for the Covenant[3], and that their differences were only patched up for the moment before the battle of Kilsyth.

Battle of Kilsyth, 15th Aug. Montrose's address to

As day dawned on the morning of the 15th August, Baillie was constrained against his judgment to put his army in motion across the Carron at Holland Bush, and advanced as far as Auchinclogh, about two miles

[3] Mark Napier.

to the eastward of Kilsyth, where the ground in front presented insuperable obstacles to further progress in that direction. When Montrose saw this movement, he said that it fell out just as he would wish, and he was inwardly delighted because he desired a battle, and already assured himself of obtaining a decisive victory. The ground between the two armies was full of quagmires; and on the side of the Royalists were some cottages and gardens, which Montrose had caused to be occupied. The first effort the enemy made, was to dislodge these troops; and they made a very brisk attack upon them. Their guard beat off the assailants, with the loss of many men; but in their eagerness the Highlanders ran after them with considerable boldness. Montrose was alarmed at this rashness, and had already sent assistance to recall them, when he observed three troops of horse despatched from the main army against them under the redoubtable Balcarras. Among the cavalry was a regiment of cuirassiers, the gleaming of whose breast-plates under the sun struck some alarm into the Highlanders, who were heard to declare among themselves that they would not fight with men clad in iron, whose bodies would be quite impenetrable to their swords. The crisis was imminent, and not a moment was to be lost in removing such an unfavourable impression from their minds. With that wonderful self-possession and ever-ready genius for which Montrose was so famous, he rode amongst the scattered men, exclaiming "Behold those rebels; they are the same men you routed at Alderne and Alford: these cowardly rascals ran away from you at Tippermuir. They have been everywhere defeated when they have been met by you; and their officers could no longer get them to look you in the face; and now they have clad them in iron. Let us show our contempt for the braggarts by fighting them in our shirts." When, suiting the action to the word, he threw off the light armour that he wore, and, drawing

1645. — his Highlanders: utter rout of the Covenanters.

1645. his sword, called on the men to strip themselves to their shirts. The immediate effect was marvellous; —the example set by Montrose was followed, and the cavalry, sharing in the general enthusiasm, responded to the veteran Lord Airlie's appeal, who, summoned by the gentlemen of his name, charged the Covenanting force with irresistible impetuosity. This was decisive of the victory. As the day was excessively hot and oppressive, the Highlanders found great relief in disburdening themselves of their clothes, and wielded their weapons with increased effect; while the extraordinary appearance of the entire army without their clothes struck their opponents with astonishment, and they readily attributed the enthusiasm to men having a fixed determination to conquer or die. Montrose availed himself with great tact of the impression he had made, and ordered the entire line forward. Baillie very injudiciously proceeded to take up a new alignment by the orders of his Council, and the attack of the Royalists threw his whole battle into confusion. Montrose's musketeers from the cottages and enclosures kept up such a galling fire upon their enemies, that they were obliged to retreat with precipitation and loss. The Covenanting horse, in their haste to escape, galloped through the flying foot, and trampled many to death; while the Royalists cut down their defenceless opponents without mercy; and many of them, to escape from their pursuers, ran unawares into a large morass called Dolater Bog, and there perished[4]. Some of the fugitive noblemen saved themselves by a timely retreat and the swiftness of their horses, on which some reached the Castle of Stirling, and some the shores of the Frith of Forth, where they

[4] Many years afterwards, when the works for the Forth and Clyde Canal were excavated at this spot, the bodies of men and horses were dug up, and people have been found to assert "*that one man was found upon horseback in military costume in the posture of command!*"

got on board ships lying in that estuary. The pursuit is said to have continued for fourteen miles "through growing corn, up rugged glens, and by pathways rough and uneasy to march in." 1645.

Losses of the Covenanters: escape of Argyle.

The whole of the baggage, arms, and stores belonging to the Covenanting army was captured by the Royalists, whose loss was extremely trifling, and principally among the Ogilvies, who had been the most hotly engaged. Very few prisoners were taken; but it is said that 6000 of the Covenanting soldiers were left dead on the plain. The Marquis of Argyle, as was customary with him, took to the water, and for the third time saved himself by means of a boat. It was even reported that he had been carried out to sea, and had been put on shore at Newcastle.

Baillie's failure and Montrose's success at Kilsyth specially accounted for.

The accounts of Montrose's victories have generally been written by partisans, and it is indeed difficult to record them without sharing the enthusiasm which is always and everywhere excited by heroic character. I think, however, that we may account for his victory at Kilsyth by the fact of General Baillie having been required by Argyle to shift his position in the midst of the battle, and in face of his adversary; and the well-timed enthusiasm of the Royalists, which was rendered available just at the proper moment to produce confusion in the Covenanters' ranks, doubtless added an impetus to the shock which rendered it triumphant. No doubt there must be added to this the fact that the Fifemen on the side of Baillie were not whole-hearted to him, while the Highlanders were heart and soul with the Marquis. The whole kingdom was indeed shaken by the repeated successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who secretly favoured the Royal Cause, were induced to declare openly for it when they saw a leader so well able to uphold the Royal Standard.

Charles sends a strong body

The King was at Newark when the news of Montrose's great successes reached him, and His Majesty

1645. declared his resolution again and again to advance and join himself with the Marquis's victorious army. He even made a march northward as far as Welbeck, when news was brought in, though it was untrue at the time, that Montrose was retiring from Stirling before David Lesley, who lay with his army in Lothian on this side of Edinburgh. On this Lord Digby declared "that it was by no means fit for His Majesty to continue to advance northward, but to retire presently to Newark." The King on this declared his pleasure, that, since it was not judged fit for himself to advance towards Montrose, it was very necessary that the horse which His Majesty had yet available should march that way, and endeavour to effect a junction with the Marquis. To this proposal there was a general assent among the Royal Councillors; and the Earl of Digby himself, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, volunteered the command. These Generals, accompanied by the Earls of Carnwarth and Niddisdale, and several other Scottish Generals, with 1500 horse, marched presently to Doncaster. Here they learnt that there lay two or three miles distant about 1000 foot newly raised for the Parliament, whom they fell upon the next morning, and compelled to throw away their arms and disperse. They thence proceeded to Sherborne, where they had notice of some troops of horse under Colonel Copley advancing to meet them. Digby immediately sounded to horse, and, meeting the enemy, charged them with such men as he found to hand with so much vigour that he completely routed them, and forced them to flee through Sherborne town. But here unfortunately he came upon his own men preparing to get into order, who joined the runaways, and fled each the way he conceived best for his own safety. This brought the Lord Digby's generalship to nothing within very few days; and no further opportunity was afforded the Loyal Scots who desired to see their King amidst "his own again."

of cavalry to Montrose's assistance: Digby's successes are followed by disaster.

Though the Covenanters had now no army in the field to oppose Montrose, yet intelligence came in of some risings in the western parts of the kingdom, where the Earls of Cassilis and Eglinton, and some other promoters of their cause, were inciting the counties in which they had influence to renew the war. It might have been good policy in Montrose at this time to have marched and seized the capital, for the Covenanting Government would thus have been put to a temporary end. But nevertheless he considered it of more importance to march to the West, and there disperse the levies that they were raising. Accordingly, after refreshing his troops two days at Kilsyth, he resolved to march into Clydesdale: but when about to move, Sir Robert Douglas and Sir Archibald Fleming arrived at the camp as Commissaries from Glasgow, whither the inhabitants, in order to obtain his favour and forgiveness, invited the successful General to honour them with a visit. He accordingly sat down, and wrote in these terms to the civic authorities:— 1645. — Montrose declines the invitation of the citizens of Glasgow: his subsequent reception by them: encamps at Bothwell till 4th Sept.

"Assured Friends,—Being to repair to those fields, these are to call and require you that, immediately after sight hereof, you command all the people of your town not to depart from their own dwellings, but to remain in their own houses; and that they make ready all sort of provisions for passing of the army; which if they do, they shall be assured to be protected as good and loyal subjects; but if they do otherways, they shall oblige us to proceed against them as rebels and enemies to His Majesty's service.

"MONTROSE[5]."

As soon, however, as the Earl of Lanark and his levies had received accounts of the battle of Kilsyth, they dispersed and fled, and Montrose contented him-

[5] Mark Napier.

1645. self with despatching Macdonald, his Major-General, into Ayrshire, while he himself, with the remainder of his army, entered Glasgow, where he was received with the general acclamations of the citizens, who, in gratitude for the favour and clemency thus shown them, presented the King's Lieutenant with 10,000 marks. He, however, removed his army to a camp at Bothwell, six miles distant from the city, lest the men should commit any excesses upon the inhabitants; and there he rested till the 4th September.

During Montrose's stay at Bothwell several noblemen in person, and others by deputy, made their submission to him, and a tender of their services. Deputations also arrived from the magistrates of many counties and towns, to implore forgiveness for the past and to proffer their obedience and loyalty to the King. He also despatched his nephew, the Master of Napier, and Nathaniel Gordon, with a select body of horse to Edinburgh, with directions to require a surrender, and that all prisoners might be set at liberty, upon pain of fire and sword. As these approached the city, they were met by two of their prisoners, Ludwick Earl of Crawford, and the Lord Ogilvy, who had been released from their Tolbooth, and commissioned as delegates from the capital to become intercessors for the inhabitants. The citadel, however, was yet in the hands of the military, and held for the Covenant; and therein were lodged the boy Lord Graham, and his tutor, Dr. Wishart, as well as Harry Graham, Montrose's natural brother.

Montrose receives two special messengers from the King, 3rd Sept.

While the Marquis was at Bothwell there came also to him two messengers from the King, who was then at Oxford: the one was Andrew Sandilands, a Scotsman, but educated in England, and in Holy Orders; the other was Sir Robert Spottiswood, formerly President of the Court of Session, and now the King's Secretary for Scotland: this latter, being too much a man of note to travel without danger, made his way to

Wales, and then to the Isle of Man, from whence he had landed at Lochabar, and joined Montrose at Balloch on the 1st September. Sir Robert was Montrose's own much-esteemed friend, and he brought with him a commission from the Sovereign, dated Hereford, the 25th June, 1645, appointing the Marquis Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General of Scotland, with power to summon Parliaments, to confer the honour of knighthood, and generally to enjoy all the privileges delegated to the chief Governor of the Kingdom. This grant was in this form presented by the Secretary, under the Standard, in presence of the whole army, on the 3rd September. The new Captain-General addressed the soldiers on the occasion in a stirring speech, extolling their courage and loyalty, and expressing all the warmth of his feelings towards his comrades in their signal career of glory. Then directing his praises pointedly to Alaster Macdonald, he exercised his new commission by dubbing him a Knight with his sword in presence of the Royal army. 1645.

The King sends aid and instructions to Montrose.

Instructions from the King were also at this time brought to Montrose by a more direct route, directing him to confide in the Earls of Roxburghe and Traquair,—of whose fidelity there was no question to be made,—and to hasten towards the Tweed, where a party of horse should meet them from the King's Majesty, with which he might safely give battle to David Lesley, Earl of Leven, if he should march towards him, as was to be expected.

General observations on the impolicy of fettering Commanders with too stringent orders.

In obedience to His Majesty's commands Montrose marched the army the same day to Calder Castle. It was a weakness in the character of Charles the First, and it is not uncommonly a habit of Kings and of others in supreme command, to hamper the powers they confer with restrictions, conditions, and stipulations that are unsuited even for their own purposes, by the time they reach their destination. For distant duties the fullest confidence should ever be entrusted

1645. — as a rule to absent subordinates; and suggestions and recommendations should take the place of "instructions." The consequences that now ensued exhibited an exemplification of the evil of such distrust.

Defection of the Gordons: disastrous consequences of this to the Royal cause: Montrose marches eastward to the Tweed.

The fiend of jealousy had all along possessed the Gordons. The brave Lord who had evidenced his constancy to the Royal cause by his blood was the sole exception. The chief Huntley, and the cadets of the house, were loyal by fits and starts, but ever ready to quit the colours, though from one or other influence they again and again returned to them. But now, on the very day that Montrose reached Calder, the Earl of Aboyne not only once more abandoned the Royal Standard together with his own followers, but took pains to seduce from their allegiance all the rest of the northern clans. Mutual friends used their utmost entreaties to change his intentions; but no consideration could induce him to remain—not even for a single week. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon alone of all the family remained with the Marquis; and thus the cause of Charles in Scotland began to fall to pieces at the very culminating point of his great Lieutenant's triumph; nevertheless Montrose, in obedience to the King's commands, resolved to proceed to the Tweed to meet the Royalist cavalry which it had been promised should join him on the English frontier.

The Royalist ranks had been already thinned by the accustomed private desertions of the Highlanders, who would always carry their booty to the mountains; but as soon as the great body of them perceived that they were marching still further south, they demanded especial liberty to return home to repair their dwellings, which the enemy had reduced to ruins, and to lay in provisions for their wives and families against the coming winter: but they promised faithfully to return to the Standard within forty days. As the General knew, from his experience, the determined resolution of these mountaineers, he dissembled the displeasure that he

felt, and granted the leave they asked with apparent good-will, entreating them to return as soon as they could. Yet he himself resolved to proceed on his march, and on the 6th reached Cranston Kirk, where it was his intention to pass Sunday, to hear Dr. Wishart preach, and then to march to the eastern shores of the Tweed, in fulfilment of His Majesty's orders. 1645.

Sir A. Macdonald, under a fallacious promise to return, quits Montrose's camp: chagrin of the Marquis.

But misfortunes never come singly. His Major-General, the dubbed knight of the King's new Commission, the brave, the trusted Sir Alaster Macdonald, instead of using the influence he had obtained under the victorious career of the great Marquis to keep the rest of the claymores to the Standard, elated with the renown which he had been thus enabled to acquire, and elevated into a high conceit by the grade of knighthood which the sword of the Viceroy had laid upon his shoulder, and which gave him a superiority over the general body of the clansmen, announced to Montrose that he must needs begone, that he might make Argyle pay the reckoning that was yet due for the lives and properties of his friends slaughtered and laid waste. But he pledged his word to bring back the clans, of whom he constituted himself a sort of Captain-General; and Macdonald without another word marched northward with the *élite* of the Highlanders, together with a picked body of 120 of the Irish troops, whom he had selected for a body-guard. Montrose had no power to oppose to the self-will of an unpaid soldiery, and permitted their departure with a grace which he hoped would win them to return: but from that moment Montrose and his Major-General never met again. His army was now therefore reduced to a mere handful of men, chiefly Irish; but he yet confidently relied upon the co-operation of the border Earls, Traquair, Home, and Roxburghe; and he hoped that when he had formed a junction with them he might yet keep his appointment with the King himself, or such auxiliaries as His Majesty could send to the Tweed.

1645. The Marquis quickly raised his camp and advanced into Strath-Gala; and as he passed along Gala Water he was joined by the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy, at the head of a small party, the remains of a larger body which had already been lost to them by desertion. On the morning of his march Lord Erskine apprised him that Lesley, recalled from England, had already reached Berwick; and he strongly counselled the Viceroy, considering the reduced condition of the Royal army, to make a timely retreat to the North. But Montrose would not doubt the honour of the border Earls, nor swerve from the King's instructions. Home and Roxburghe did not appear; and even the bold Buccleugh adhered to the Covenant. The days of chivalry were past; for the very name of Douglas failed to aid the cause of his Sovereign. Traquair, indeed, paid his respects to the Viceroy as Montrose passed near his house, and even sent his son, the Lord Linton, with a troop of horse, intending to blind the Marquis, so as that he might not suspect the snares laid for his destruction; but Roxburghe, "the cunning old fox," kept aloof. These recreant noblemen had, as it afterwards appeared, held a private correspondence with Lesley, and allowed themselves to be made voluntary prisoners, and to be carried off to the borders. Montrose at length opened his eyes to the treachery of these Royalist nobles, who had given their faith to King Charles; and when he encamped on the 10th September near Kelso, and heard that Lesley was already at Gladsmuir in East Lothian, he saw himself without all hopes of the assistance which his Sovereign had promised him; and the danger of his being now obstructed in his return to the North flashed upon him. He therefore resolved, with the small army he had, to fall back upon Nithsdale, Annandale, and Ayr, in the hope that he could yet raise forces from them to keep the cause alive.

Treacherous conduct of Montrose's most influential adherents.

Action at

From Kelso therefore Montrose marched on the 11th

September to Jedburgh, as if loth to quit the borders; and on the 12th, probably hearing of Lesley's march towards Edinburgh, he moved to Selkirk. He quartered his horse within the town, but bivouacked the foot in Harehead woods, which commanded a level piece of ground called Philiphaugh, on the banks of the Ettrick, resolving to occupy the most advantageous ground, lest he should be forced into an engagement. It was always his custom to see every thing done himself, he was therefore extremely careful to have all his sentinels placed: and he gave strict charge to the officer in command of the horse to send out expert and trusty patrols; earnestly requesting of all to take care that the enemy did not come upon them at unawares. This done, he withdrew to his quarters to write letters to the King by a faithful messenger whom he had fallen upon, to despatch the following day. While occupied during the night with these despatches some loose reports came in of the approach of the enemy, of which he sent due notice to his officers, from whom he received in return the assurances of their diligence and attention. It is believed that Traquair had given Lesley information that Montrose had no larger force than 500 Irish foot and a few weak horse; for he certainly had sent a command to his son, Lord Linton, to withdraw with his contingent away from the Royal army: when Lesley suddenly altered the direction of his march, and had taken up his quarters at Melrose the night previous. The morning broke extremely dark and foggy, so that the mist completely obscured the approach of an enemy, who was thus enabled to advance unobserved till he came within half a mile of head-quarters. On the alarm occasioned by the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Covenanters, Montrose sprung on the first horse he could get, and galloped into the field appointed for the rendezvous. On his arrival he found indeed his camp awake, though it was yet early, but all full of clamour and disorder.

1645.

Philiphaugh: preparations for the battle.

1645 — The Battle begins, 13th Sept.: desperate fighting: Montrose defeated.

With his accustomed presence of mind he got his small band in a defensive position before any attack was commenced. This began with a charge of cavalry on the right, followed by a second; both of which the brave Cavaliers, under Montrose himself, repulsed. An attack was made on the left, under which the Royalists withdrew higher up the hill; but they had scarcely done so when a body of 2000 foot passed to the rear of the right wing and utterly routed it; on which those of the left, scarcely yet in their new position, turned and fled. Montrose, with about thirty brave Cavaliers around him, remained upon the field, and witnessed the utter discomfiture of his small army; but, though he could have retreated, he scorned to fly. He gave up all hopes of escape, and fought as one resolved to die rather than yield.

But the Marquis of Douglas, Sir John Dalziel, and other friends, implored him not to sacrifice a life so valuable to his King and Country; and accordingly all the horse that could be brought together were banded under these noble leaders, who led them in a gallant charge right through the opposing enemy without the loss of a single man, and went off, followed by the rebel horse; but the retreating party behaved with so much conduct and resolution, that they killed some of their pursuers, and actually carried off one Bruce, a captain of horse, and two standard-bearers with their standards, as prisoners. Montrose got to Peebles about sunset, for the enemy soon gave up all pursuit, and fell to rifling the baggage. Happily both the Royal standards were preserved from falling into their power. A brave Irish soldier, with surprising presence of mind, stripped the Irish harp from the staff, and brought it to Montrose, who gave him the future charge thereof for his valour; and the Royal Standard was saved by the Honourable William Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, who had the satisfaction of restoring it to his General in the North Country some time afterwards.

Montrose had gone but a few miles from the field of Philiphaugh when he overtook a number of his own men, who rejoined his party. Unfortunately, after having extricated themselves from the disastrous flight, the Earl of Hartfell, the Lords Drummond and Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir William Rollo, Sir Philip Nisbet, Sir Alexander Leslie, William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilvy, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Captain Guthrie, son to the Bishop of Moray, all missed their way, and were delivered into the hands of the enemy; and the principal among them were tried, condemned, and beheaded. 1645. — Sad fate of the fugitive Royalist leaders.

The Marquis of Douglas, Lord Napier, Lord Balmerino, The Master of Napier, Drummond of Balloch, Lords Erskine and Fleming, Sir John Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwarth, and others of minor distinction, and different straggling parties of men, came in to Montrose at Peebles, and under him crossed the Clyde the next day, when he was joined by the Earls of Crawford and Airlie and other noblemen who had effected their escape by different ways; so that the Viceroy had still a noble body-guard and the nucleus of another army: and being now secure against further pursuit, he continued his course across the Forth and the Erne, and by the foot of the hills into Athole, despatching his friends right and left to levy what forces they could among vassals and friends, while he himself took the greatest pains by letters to win back Aboyne and Macdonald to aid the Royal cause, who both wrote him back word that they would speedily join him. Montrose strives to rally his scattered adherents.

As soon as the members of the Committee of Estates, who had taken refuge at Berwick after Kilsyth, heard of the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, they accompanied Lesley's army back to Edinburgh, and there exercised their revenge upon the unhappy Royalists who had thus fallen into their hands. The Covenanting army continued its march to Glasgow, where a Convention was held, who voted their General a present Treatment of the Royalist captives by the victorious Covenanters: rewards to Lesley.

1645. of 50,000 marks, and a gold chain; and 25,000 marks to the second in command.

Montrose's earnest efforts to obtain reinforcements.

Though the harvest season was already far advanced in Athole, and the country people were mostly engaged in the fields in the occupation of getting in their grain for the support of their families, and in repairing their houses and lands, which had been ravaged by the enemy, yet, notwithstanding these disadvantageous circumstances, Montrose succeeded in inducing about 400 men to join the Standard immediately; and more promised to follow him to the North, whither he went in quest of additional reinforcements. But he also grew impatient and distrustful of Aboyne's delay; and he therefore determined to repair himself to Strathnaver, to try his personal influence with the chief of the Gordons. He hurried across the Grampians; but Huntley, becoming apprised of his design, withdrew to Gordon Castle, whither Montrose followed him on horseback in disguise, and reached the Bog of Gight so early in the morning, that Huntley could neither escape nor conceal himself from him. The two Marquises met as old friends, and appeared to have quite agreed on future operations; indeed they seemed to be so cordial in their loyalty, that both Aboyne and Lord Lewis inprecated eternal perdition to themselves if they did not from henceforth continue firm and constant in their fidelity and attachment to Montrose for the remainder of their lives.

Huntley's jealousy of Montrose.

There were many among the clan who justly appreciated the talents of Montrose, and who could see clearly the great danger that accrued to the Royal cause; and these did every thing in their power to induce their chief to take the field. But Huntley was "a man equally unfortunate and inconsiderate—he was really attached to the King, yet he betrayed his interest through a private and uncontrollable envy that he had conceived against his brother Marquis." Royalist as he was, he did not care to expose the

Crown and Monarchy to danger to gratify his personal spleen and vanity, for he could not endure to see a man whom he chose to regard as his inferior in position monopolize the power and authority in Scotland which he thought should have rather been entrusted to himself. However he now gave out that he would take the charge of commanding his clan himself during the remainder of the war; and a letter is extant from Montrose to the supercilious Marquis, setting forth "that he was absolutely resolved to observe the course he desired, and to witness himself in every thing his son and servant." 1645. —

Montrose summons the Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th Oct.

On the 7th October Montrose united with Aboyne at Dumminor, or Forbes-Castle, at the head of 1500 foot and 300 horse, all cheerful and in good spirits, and ready to attempt any enterprise under his command. Aboyne himself greeted his illustrious commander with the frank confession that he would carry his men wherever Montrose pleased to lead them, and said that his brother Lord Lewis Gordon would soon join him with an additional force. Gratified with this appearance of fidelity and diligence, Montrose turned his face again to the South, as he hoped to take up Lord Erskine's forces at Mar, and to be enabled to descend upon Glasgow, where, as Viceroy of Scotland, he had summoned the Parliament to meet on the 20th October.

Montrose is deprived of his cavalry through the defection of Aboyne: the King writes to console him on his recent failure.

But he had scarcely proceeded a day's march when he was apprised that Lord Lewis Gordon was gone off another way, with Lord Crawford, and that there was already a sensible diminution in the ranks of the Gordon followers that still remained with the Royal army under Aboyne. On the third day this noble lord had the assurance to desire leave to return home. He excused himself by alleging his father's commands, and was deaf to all persuasions to remain even for a few days. The result was, that Montrose was left entirely destitute of the indispensable arm of cavalry.

1645. He however continued his march, and on the 23rd October was as far advanced as the Castle of Braemar, from whence he moved to Glenshee, to the south of the Grampians; and on the 25th he was as Loch Earn. After the battle at Philiphaugh, Lesley had divided his army into two; and Middleton, with a part of the force, had been sent to keep the Gordons in check, and was now encamped at Turreff. Lesley with the remainder had gone towards Glasgow. Montrose thought that by a forced march through Angus he might have surprised the latter, and avenged his disaster at Philiphaugh: but the defection of the Gordons had ruined all these hopes. At Strathearn he was met by two messengers from the King, who reached him there by different routes. Charles had heard of his defeat, and wrote to him from Newark on the 3rd November:—

"Be assured that your less prosperous fortune is so far from lessening my estimation of you, that it will rather cause my affection to "*Kythe the cleerlier*" (manifest itself the more clearly) to you."

Death of Montrose's wife, and of Lord Napier, Nov.

Public calamities, which had so heavily fallen on the head of our hero, were now to be aggravated by private grief. In November, 1645, Montrose's lady died; but he was enabled to snatch a few days to follow her to her grave at Montrose, and then to hurry into Athole, whither Middleton pursued him. Here he learnt that his oldest friend and brother-in-law, Lord Napier, had just breathed his last at Fincastle on the Garry. This nobleman was very old,—the son of the inventor of Logarithms, but one who, in respect of his great wisdom and experience, had always been most useful in his Council. Montrose was enabled to take care that his body should be deposited in the Kirk of Blair with all due solemnities.

Montrose, struggling with diffi-

We next hear of Montrose at Kilmahog, on the 9th November, when he ordered all his followers to rendez-

vous at the Blair of Athole on the 14th. In the month of December following we hear of him again struggling with his diminished army in the midst of an unusually severe winter up half-frozen torrents and through deep drifted snow, among the mountains and amid the braes of Athole and Angus; again intending an unexpected visit to Huntley Castle. Again the Marquis escaped him by shifting his quarters to Gordon Castle; and again, at the head of a slender body-guard of Cavaliers, Montrose ran that slippery Royalist to ground at "the Bog of Gight." Huntley professed that he was intending great operations in behalf of the King "benorth" of the Grampians, and that he had actually mustered under the Gordon banner 1400 foot and 600 horse; whereas all that the Viceroy had now assembled under the Royal Standard was 800 foot and 200 horse. Montrose accordingly proposed to combine their forces, and make a dash upon Inverness, where Seaforth had a garrison which was thought to be ill supplied with provisions. Accordingly it was agreed that Montrose should march through Strathspey, while Huntley should move by a different road along the sea-coast of Morayshire. Accordingly Montrose is at Kinnermory on the 23rd December, and on the last day of 1645 at Ballacastle. But Huntley, instead of acting in concert with Montrose, was laying siege to the house of Lethin in Moray.

1646. — culties, exerts himself to the utmost through the last two months of 1645.

This serious trifling with the time so necessary for action very much disquieted Montrose, who was obliged to pull up at Strathspey; but he writes to his brother Marquis that, "it concerns us really to fall to work." And on 25th January, 1646, he could stand it no longer, but shifted his camp to Kylochy, in the Strath of the Findhorn. While still here his kinsman, Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, who was left recruiting in Athole, assembled about 700 men, and defeated and pursued about 1200 in arms for Argyle upon the lands of Lord Napier in Menteith. It was a brilliant affair, worthy of Montrose's school, but led to no results,

Brilliant success of P. Graham over some followers of Argyle: Montrose lays siege to Inverness: is deserted by Huntley.

1646. except that it induced Middleton to linger at Aberdeen, while he himself turned aside to go back to Inchbrackie. Montrose, intent on taking Inverness, shifted his camp from the Findhorn to Pelty, on the coast, where he was on the 16th March, when Huntley had, after ten weeks' siege, obtained possession of Lethin. Lord Lewis is reported to have exercised an abominable act of treachery at this time when, at his Castle at Rothes, he induced some men of the Royal army by drink to abandon their posts, giving out that the enemy were distant, and then jeeringly told them "Go, return to your General Montrose, who will have more work on his hands than you can settle for him." Montrose, before Inverness, was ineffectually endeavouring to reduce the garrison of a well-fortified place without a gun, and with a badly-supplied force. Had Huntley kept his promise, and joined him according to his agreement, the Viceroy was sanguine enough to think that he might have nevertheless effected its capture. But Huntley never made his appearance, but thought to besiege Aberdeen, until he heard of Middleton's approach towards that town, when he retired hastily into Moray, with some loss. As soon as Montrose heard that the Covenanting General had come up with 800 foot and 600 horse, he sent to renew his entreaties to Huntley to join him immediately, that they might reduce Inverness, or join their forces and drive back Middleton. But Huntley would not accede to Montrose's request; and the Viceroy was so exasperated at this continued perverseness of the Gordons, that he had come to the resolution to fight them to compel compliance with his Sovereign's behest, for he was fully in a condition to have reduced Huntley to obedience, but that he had enough on his hands with Middleton.

Middleton forces Montrose to raise the

It was on the 9th May that the Covenanting General, driving before him the few horse which Montrose had stationed on the Spey to watch his motions, arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness.

The Viceroy immediately drew his force together, and took up a position at some distance, and, avoiding the plain ground in consequence of Middleton's superiority in cavalry, he at once raised the siege, and withdrew his army to the other side of the Ness. The enemy attacked his rear as he went off; but, being gallantly received, the assailants were forced to stop, and but little loss ensued on either side. Montrose passed round the Frith by Beauly, and into Rosshire; but, finding himself still pursued, he turned sharp round to Lochness, whence, passing through Strathglass and Strath-Errich, he returned to the banks of the Spey. 1646. Siege of Inverness, 9th May.

Here he received a letter from the King, dated Newcastle, the 19th May, by the messenger Robin Carr, with His Majesty's command that he should disband his forces, and go into France. To this letter he replied, under date Strathspey, 2nd June, promising in all humility, "to render obedience, as never having had nor having any thing earthly before my eyes but your Majesty's service." But he would not thus part with Huntley, whom he had resolved to treat as a public enemy; and therefore he rode off with all speed to Gordon Castle, advertising him by messenger, that he came to pay his compliments to him, and to consult him concerning the King's service, having just received letters from the King which he wanted to communicate to him. But Huntley, terrified, and not daring to encounter his presence, immediately mounted on horseback and rode off, attended by one servant, without vouchsafing the smallest entertainment for His Majesty's Viceroy. As soon as Montrose understood that he was gone he returned (twenty-seven miles that same day,—"which was the 27th May,") to the banks of the Spey. The King commands Montrose to disband his forces, and retire to France: Huntley, alarmed, avoids an interview with the Marquis.

While Montrose was yet uncertain under what circumstances and securities he was to leave those who were under arms, (for the King was now a prisoner with the Scotch army,) another messenger arrived on the last day of May with another letter from His Montrose receives further orders and advice from the King:

1646. Majesty, which was followed by a third under his Sovereign's hand, accompanied with written conditions of surrender from the leaders of the faction into whose hands Charles had delivered himself. Montrose was shocked at this peremptory message. He saw the King's affairs brought to a crisis, and bitterly lamented the unhappy fate which had forced him into the hands of his most inveterate enemies. But though he had no doubt that these orders had been extorted from him, through force and threats, by the Covenanters, who now had him in their power, yet he felt that if he should stand out contrary to the King's express commands he would thereby become guilty of rebellion,—the very crime which he so much abhorred, and had denounced in others. He therefore resolved to call together all the noblemen, gentlemen, and chieftains of his side, in order that a matter of such importance, and which so nearly concerned them all, might be debated and determined by general consent. In the meanwhile he received fresh orders to disband his army without further delay, under the penalties of high treason; this last command was attended by another circumstance, which induced him to come to a speedy resolution:—he was apprised that many of those who had engaged with him were secretly making their own terms with the rebels through common friends: for example, the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Huntley, and Lord Aboyne, who grounded their allegiance to the Covenant on the strength of their opposition to Montrose; while the Earl of Antrim, who, it will be remembered, was the original cause of the Irish contingent serving with the Royal army, now arrived, without men or arms, to endeavour to recall these men, over whom he pretended some authority and influence, and to make himself by these means of value to the new Government. The ex-Viceroy, as we must now call Montrose, saw himself obliged to submit to circumstances, and immediately arranged terms for a cessation of arms and a

his conduct thereupon.

conference with General Middleton. They met accordingly under the canopy of heaven, upon a plain on the banks of the Isla; and, after conferring together for nearly two hours, while the single attendant of either held their horse's bridle, the one offered and the other accepted the conditions under which the King's army was to be disbanded. 1646.

Montrose's address to his followers on disbanding them, 30th July: embarks for Norway, 3rd Sept.

Preparatory to this separation from his brave and attached followers, Montrose convened the melancholy remnant of his gallant little band of heroes to a rendezvous at Rothsay, in the neighbourhood of Cupar Angus, in Perthshire, on the 30th July. Here he announced to them the King's orders, and dismissed them in a feeling and animated oration. He bade them farewell, giving them due praise for their faithful services to their Sovereign, and their good behaviour towards himself. His heart must have been wrung at thus parting with those who had shared with him so many glories, toils, and dangers; and, on the other hand, the remaining few who had followed him throughout their brilliant service could not but feel the deepest grief at the dissolution of this illustrious band of warriors. Montrose's personal safety depended on his being transported beyond seas in a ship to be provided for him before the last day of August: but there was great reason to apprehend that the bad faith of the Covenanters would place the Marquis in their power through a noncompliance, on their part, with the agreement. On the day appointed therefore Montrose engaged a small pinnace belonging to Bergen, in Norway, which he found in the harbour of Stonehaven, the master of which he had bribed to be ready by the day appointed. In this he embarked on the evening of the 3rd September, with his most trusty friends, having disguised himself in a coarse dress as the servant of one of the party.

He receives, at Ham-

Montrose received a friendly welcome in Norway from a Scotsman, who happened to be Governor of the

1647. Castle of Bergen. He lost not one moment in going about his Royal Master's business, and journeyed the best way he could to Christiania, to see the King of Denmark, who was maternal uncle, and a friendly ally of King Charles. But His Majesty had quitted his Norwegian capital for Germany; and Montrose proceeded to Hamburg, where he remained for some time to learn what was doing in the cause of his Sovereign. Here he received letters from the King, dated Newcastle, January 21, 1647, and others from Queen Henrietta Maria, dated Paris, the 5th February. Shortly afterwards he received a report that the King had been sold to the Parliament; and he immediately quitted Hamburg and proceeded to Paris. But on his way through Flanders he had the good fortune to meet Jack Ashburnham, who had been sent by the Queen from Paris to confer with Montrose "on some thing for the service of the King." The Archduke Leopold was at that time Viceroy and Governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain, from whom Montrose received all the assistance and encouragement he desired, and a safe conduct to Paris, where he soon after arrived, having been desirous to lay his homage at the feet of Her Majesty in the teeth of a great deal of false advice from the *camarilla* who, as he soon discovered, had the direction of affairs about Queen Henrietta Maria; and he did not receive from her such a reception as he thought his notable services to the King had merited, and which His Majesty's express injunctions that he should repair to her Court had encouraged him to hope for.

burg, letters from the King and Queen: his reception by the latter at Paris.

This was in the month of March, 1647, and Montrose had not seen Her Majesty since 1642, when the advice he had then tendered was rejected; and matters had, in consequence, turned out pretty much as he had then predicted. The Queen replied to his eloquent appeal—that she had best exert herself to rescue her husband—"with a heavy heart, but without explaining

His treatment by the exiled Court: last letter from the King.

herself sufficiently." The exiled Court evinced very plainly that they abjured him and all his advice and assistance, and refused him all credentials or instructions on which he could himself have acted. While at Paris he received another letter from the King, probably the last he ever received from His Majesty. It was dated, "Newmarket, 19th June," wherein it was said, "I desire you to take directions from my wife what you are to do." Nothing, however, came of this. 1647.

Clarendon speaks of Montrose at this period "as a man who greatly belauded himself, and affected a great state, with an attendance of officers and servants upon him." His opinions of the state of society of the period may be derived from his reply to some one who wrote to desire a place at the Court of the Queen for a young lady. "There is neither Scots man nor woman welcome that way, neither would any of honour and virtue, chiefly a woman, suffer themselves to live in so lewd and worthless a place." Nevertheless, though the Queen's Court both slighted and disparaged him, the eyes of France were upon him. He sought the society of the influential and the great to aid the cause of his Royal Master, and even made overtures to Cardinal Mazarin to raise an army for the service of the King. The celebrated De Retz also cultivated his acquaintance, and introduces his name with honour and respect in his "Mémoirs." "Le Comte de Montross, Écossais, et chef de la maison Graham, le seul homme du monde qui m'ait jamais rappelé l'idée de certain héros que l'on ne voit plus que dans les Vies de Plutarque, avait su tenir le parti du Roi d'Angleterre dans son pays avec une grandeur d'âme qui n'en avait point de pareil en ce siècle." The French did offer him very attractive promises—that he should be Captain of the Gens-d'armes with 12,000 crowns a year pension beside his pay, and Captain of the King's Bodyguard, which was a place bought and sold at 150,000

Character of Montrose, by Clarendon and De Retz.

1648-9. crowns. The assurance was also given him, that the next year he should be Maréchal of France; but Montrose had his Sovereign's interest at heart more than his own. He thought that the French were become indifferent if not hostile to Charles, and had laboured for their own ends to foment the differences between him and his subjects, and he feared that if he engaged with them he would be forced to connive and wink at that Prince's ruin[6].

Montrose seeks the aid of the Emperor of Germany, by whom he is made Field-Marshal, and commander of the levies in Flanders.

Under these circumstances it was that Montrose, unable to carry out his plans for the King in France, quitted Paris, about the end of March, 1648, and sought the aid of the Emperor of Germany. He passed through Switzerland, the Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria, and, not finding His Imperial Majesty at the capital, he followed him to Prague. It was just at the period of the Battle of Zusmanshausen, when the Imperial cause was at its lowest, and the arrival of one of famous repute and experience in war was so acceptable to Ferdinand, that he at once bestowed on him the *bâton* of an Imperial Field-Marshal, and invested him with the command of the levies which were sought to be obtained in Flanders. Thither accordingly he proceeded, and was honourably entertained by the Archduke Leopold at Brussels, after His Imperial Highness's defeat by Condé at Lens, towards the end of 1648.

Hears at Breda of the death of Charles: his grief and indignation thereupon.

Here he was in January, 1649, when the young Prince of Wales sought him out, and sent Clarendon to negotiate upon some very secret business; and after discussing several towns where they might least expect to be watched by inquisitive men, Sevenbergen, a small town not far from Breda, was fixed upon for their meeting, where the yet unconfirmed reports of the death of Charles reached his ears. Seized with horror at this parricidal act, for which he does not seem to have been prepared, the intelligence was no sooner confirmed than

[6] Mark Napier.

his indignation was heightened into fury, and, overwhelmed with grief, he is said to have fainted and fallen to the ground as one dead in the midst of his attendants. When he recovered, Wishart, who was present, records that he exclaimed, "We ought not any longer to live; we ought to die with our excellent King;" when his chaplain replied, "Die, my Lord! No! it is now more than ever your business, who are so justly famed for your bravery,—it is the business of all resolute men—to be yet more desirous of life, that we may avenge the death of our Royal Master, and endeavour to settle the Prince his son and successor on the throne of his ancestors." Recovered, and somewhat composed, he exclaimed, "Well then, in that view alone I shall be satisfied to live. But I swear before men and angels that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the Royal Martyr, and the re-establishing of his son upon his father's throne." It was in the excess of this grief, which kept him three days within his chamber, that he sought a solace in writing these well-known lines:— 1649.

"Great, good, and just! could I but rate
My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain,
As it would deluge once again:
But, since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds."

His loyalty to his new Sovereign.

The afflicting event was corroborated to him by a letter from Clarendon, by command of the new King, to whom he replies:—

"I pray God Almighty that our young Master the King may make his right use every way of such a tragic event. But it will be no more time to dally: for if affection and love to the justice and virtue of his cause be not incitements great enough, anger and so just revenge, methinks, should wing us on."

1649. — Is summoned to the Hague by Charles II., who appoints him Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and Commander-in-Chief there, and sends him on a mission to several Continental Courts.

Upon the King's death the Scots had proclaimed Charles II., and sent over Commissioners to the young King, who removed to the Hague to receive them, in March, 1649. The Marquis of Montrose was sent for to attend His Majesty at the Hague, and he forthwith repaired thither; and his opinion on the state of affairs was read in Council on the 21st May. The King invested Montrose with a new Commission, as Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and Commander-in-Chief of all the Royal forces in that kingdom. His Majesty also appointed him his Ambassador to the Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Princes of Germany, and others his confederates and allies, to solicit their assistance in men, money, arms, and ammunition, for renewing the war. Montrose proceeded from Brussels to Hamburg, in order to follow up this mission with the King of Denmark and the Queen of Sweden; and he was occupied at one or other of these Courts during the remainder of this year and the commencement of 1650. He obtained promises from both Sovereigns, but their engagements were thwarted by the secret intrigues of the King's enemies, or the open exertions of the agents of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, by indefatigable industry and perseverance, he collected a force of 1200 men at Gothenburgh, together with a present of 1500 complete stand of arms,—which was made to him by the eccentric Queen of Sweden,—for arming such persons as might join the Royal Standard on landing in Scotland. An agreement had been entered into with the Earl of Morton that a descent should be made in the Orkneys; and accordingly an arrangement was made to divide the expedition into three parts, and the first division was despatched early in September, 1649. But this unfortunately never reached its destination, having foundered at sea. The second division, however, under the Earl of Kinnoul, was more fortunate, and was landed at Kirkwall about the end of that month. It consisted of 200 common

soldiers, with eighty officers; and it was joined by many of the lairds of Orkney. Kinnoul immediately laid siege to the Castle of Birsay, which soon surrendered to him. 1649-50.

Faithless conduct of the agents employed to bring aid to the Royal cause.

Montrose in the mean while was delayed by those thousand annoyances, provocations, and ill service, which the whole history of war shows to be the fertile source of disappointment in the preparation of every military expedition. The Dukes of Brandenburg and Holstein had supplied some very fine vessels, well manned, which were rendezvoused at Amsterdam; and hither Colonel John Ogilvy was despatched with a good sum of money, to obtain recruits. But this unfaithful agent spent all the money upon himself, and the few soldiers he assembled deserted again; so that the ships supplied were rendered useless and lost by his neglect. Sir John Cockran had been despatched on a similar mission into Poland; and he disposed of all the money to his own use, and sold the corn and other provisions supplied to him. General King, who was expected from Sweden with a considerable body of horse, also failed to be ready when required; or, as it was thought, he procrastinated purposely. The Lieutenant-Governor occupied himself with the vanities of his command in a manner that might be animadverted upon if it were not remembered that fish are often caught by scarlet and tinsel. He prepared a Royal Standard of black damask, with a man's head in the middle bleeding, as if severed from the body, with this motto, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." His own standard was of white damask, with a lion on the top of a rock, and an opposing steep rock with an open space between them, and a motto, "Nil medium."

1650. Montrose lands with a few followers in Orkney, March, and thence em-

The expedition under the Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland in person, landed in Orkney in the beginning of March, 1650, with a force of 500 men! the Marquis himself being attended with many gentlemen who were resolved to partake of his fortune. Lord Fendraught, Sir John Urry, as his Major-General, Colonels Gray,

1650. Johnson, Hay of Dalgetty, Drummond of Balloch, and many others. No attempt had been made to dislodge the first body of adventurers who had established their hold on these islands; either because they were rather inaccessible, and naturally guarded by rocks and seas; or because the limited numbers of the assailants were despised. Both Morton and Kinnoul had died since the detachment had landed in Orkney in September; and Montrose saw no progress possible without essaying a campaign on the mainland. Accordingly, gathering all the boats he could assemble, together with the vessels that brought him over, he shipped his men, and carried them across the Pentland Frith to John O'Groat's House, in Caithness, where he was enabled to effect a landing unopposed on the 14th April, 1650. The Castle of Dunheath was immediately taken possession of, and garrisoned; and the Marquis, having established it as a base of operations, marched boldly into Scotland.

barks for Caithness: his subsequent progress.

Lesley, ordered to oppose him, sends Strachan to hold him in check.

The name of Montrose, and the prejudice existing in the far North against an army of foreigners, induced the people to fly before them, and many never stopped till they reached Edinburgh, where they gave a terrible alarm to the Parliament then in session. The Estates forthwith ordered David Lesley to get the standing forces in readiness. The General ordered Brechin as the place of rendezvous; but, as some considerable time must necessarily elapse before they could be assembled, he commanded Colonel Strachan to carry 300 horse with all expedition to the North, for the purpose of keeping Montrose in check; while the Earl of Sutherland, and the Covenanters of those shires, could raise their levies. In the mean time the Marquis advanced but slowly, for the country did not come in to second him as he expected.

Sad affair of Corbiesdale: total rout of Montrose

The loyalty of Scotland was utterly paralyzed at this moment by the new King's proceedings at Breda, who was actually in negotiation with the Covenanters. The Marquis had published a "Declaration" as Lieutenant-

Governor and Captain-General of Scotland. This was answered by "a warning" of the Commission of the General Assembly, which was backed by fulminations from all the pulpits, which made a deep impression on men's minds. Montrose heard that the Earl of Sunderland, a powerful man in these parts, was doing all he could to hinder and terrify any from joining the Royalist army, and was actively raising forces of his own: and accordingly the Marquis sent forward a division to secure the important pass of the Ord, lest the Earl, in that position, should prevent the passage through the county. The first step, as we have seen, was against the Castle of Dunheath, of which Sir John Urry had obtained possession. Montrose occupied the second night at Kintredwell, whence, in passing by Dunrobin, he essayed to get into that Castle from the side of the sea: but the garrison made a sortie, and killed or made prisoners of many of the assailants. On the seventh night he reached Corbiesdale, near the pass of Invercarron, where he halted in expectation of being joined by the Mackenzies. Without being aware of it, Montrose was at this place within six miles of Colonel Strachan, a Covenanter officer of considerable ability and energy. He deliberated, indeed, whether he should fall on the Royalists upon the Sabbath day; but nevertheless on Sunday the 28th April, this officer advanced a part of his force as far as Fearn, within two miles of them, where he concealed his men on a muir covered with heather. This ambuscade was completely successful. Montrose, only seeing a small party of some forty horse under Strachan, conceived it to be the entire body that had come up against him; and the Parliament Colonel led forward this small force, but it was followed by three supporting divisions in rapid succession. Montrose, thrown off his guard, gave orders for a retreat, when they came across other concealed troops, who charged them violently, so that the whole of the Royalist forces became breathless and disordered. The

1650. — his narrow escape, 28th April.

1650. Orkney men made little resistance; but the foreign troops stood more sturdily to their arms. An unavailing effort was made to rally them; but the whole of this little army was utterly slaughtered in the space of two hours. Montrose, Fendraught, and the gallant band of officers, fought desperately; for they knew it was for life. Ogilvy of Powrie was killed by the side of the Marquis. Young Menzies of Pitfoddels died obstinately defending the Royal Standard. Ten officers and 386 soldiers fell on the field; 400 prisoners were taken, including Sir John Urry. The gallant Viscount Fendraught, himself severely wounded, forced Montrose, whose horse had been killed under him, to mount his own charger, which, though wounded like himself, he did at length, and in company with the Earl of Kinnoul, and two gentlemen of the name of Sinclair, with six or seven others, made his way from off the sad field of Corbiesdale with extreme difficulty.

He is betrayed by McLeod, and is cast into prison.

But the Marquis soon found it expedient to dismount from horseback, and make the best of his way across muir and mountain as he could. He had the presence of mind to change habits with the first peasant he met, and threw away his cloak, embroidered with the Star of the Garter, and his sword, which were found by his pursuers. Kinnoul and he then wandered up the river Oikel the ensuing night and next day, when the former, unable from exhaustion to proceed any further, succumbed, and, as is supposed, perished. Montrose was left among mountains alone, and yet continued to proceed for three or four days, till at last he came into the country of M'Leod of Assint. This chief had been formerly among the followers of the Marquis, and knew him; but he refused to save the life of the hero of his age and country; and, being greedy of the reward offered to the person who should apprehend him alive, he had the meanness to accept 400 bolls of meal, and gave him up into the will of his enemies, who lodged him prisoner in the Castle of Ardwrack.

As soon as the capture of the great Royalist leader was known, he was ordered to be removed under proper security to Edinburgh. On his road, coming to the house of the Earl of Southesk, his father-in-law, where two of his children were kept, he obtained permission from his guard to visit them. When at the house of the Laird of Grange, near Dundee, he very nearly made his escape. The "Old Ladye" of the family of Somerville made his guard drunk; and Montrose had actually passed the sentries, when one more sober than the rest, and not one of the guard, made the discovery, and forced him back to his prison chamber. It is remarkable that the town of Dundee, though it had suffered more from his army than any other within the kingdom, was so far from insulting him in his misfortunes that it sympathized with him in them. It was on the 18th May, about four in the afternoon, that he reached the Watergate of the Capital, where he was received by the magistrates of the city, escorted by a body-guard, *having the hangman along with them, dressed in the Marquis's livery, and wearing his hat.* In the procession, which consisted also of Sir John Urry and twenty-three prisoners of note, he was conducted to the Tolbooth; and it is said that his great opponent Argyle had the cowardly meanness to appear publicly on a balcony in the Canongate, surrounded by a considerable party, to behold the man from whom he had three times fled for his life in an open boat, when deserting the defeated army of which he had the command. When he descended from the cart, he gave the hangman money, saying, "Fellow, there is drink-money for driving the cart; I reckon it the triumphal chariot of my glory."

1650.

He nearly escapes from custody: is lodged in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, 18th May: heartless conduct of Argyle.

On the 20th May, only two days later, "he was brought from prison unto judgment." With somewhat of the boastful character of the man, and, as if to give dignity and importance to the occasion, he had obtained by means of his friends a superb dress, in which he appeared at the Bar of the Parliament House. It was

His sentence, 20th May: resolution of the Parliament for his execution.

1650. about ten o'clock, or near noon, when he was summoned before his judges, and "ascended the place of delinquents" to receive his sentence. In times of civil war all considerations of fair justice are generally sacrificed to party faction and revenge from those who are for the moment in the ascendant. Accordingly Montrose had not what might be termed a trial. On the 17th, before he reached the Capital, the Parliament had met, and determined in writing (what had been approven by the whole), this Report following:—"That he should be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, till he died, and his history and declaration hanged about his neck: and hang three hours thereafter in the view of the people: thereafter he should be headed and quartered: his head to be fixed at the prison-house of Edinburgh, and his legs and arms to be fixed at the ports of Stirling, Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen; and if he repented, that the bulk of his body should be buried by pioneers in the Greyfriars; if not, to be buried in the Burgh muir." This sentence is thought to have been the composition of Johnston of Warriston, a bitter enemy of the great Marquis, who having now attained the office of Lord Clerk Register—the great object of his ambition—had the especial gratification (for such a man) of reading the sentence to his fallen foe. Montrose it is believed was staggered at this sentence, for he said, "It becomes them rather to be hangmen than me to be hanged." He expected and desired to be beheaded.

His reply to the Committee of the Kirk, and to the Magistrates.

After he was returned to prison a Committee of the Kirk forced themselves on his privacy, and would not accept his modest request, "I pray you, Gentlemen, let me die in peace." They replied, "Since we find that you maintain your former course, for which sentence has been passed on you, we must leave you to the fearful apprehension of the Church, that what is bound on Earth God will bind in Heaven." To which he answered, "I am very sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the Church of Scotland; and I

would, with all my heart, be reconciled with the same. But since I cannot obtain it on any other terms—unless I call that my *sin* which I account to have been my *duty*—I cannot for all the reason and conscience in the world." When the magistrates afterwards waited upon him he told them, "He was much beholden to the Parliament for the honour they had done him, for that he was prouder to have his head fixed upon the top of a prison in the view of the present and succeeding ages, than if they had decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the Market-place, or that his picture should be hung in their council-chamber." 1650. —

His conduct on the morning of his execution: his death.

On the morning of Tuesday the 21st May, 1650, Montrose rose, and took for his breakfast a little bread dipped in ale. He was always careful of his person, and it was characteristic of him to desire to look his best at a moment when thousands were to look upon him either as friends or enemies for the last time. He desired leave to have a barber sent for to shave him; but this was refused him; and he was heard to say, "I could not think but they would have allowed that to a dog." As he was combing his hair and adjusting his beard, some sullen moody man obtruded the impudent remark, "Why is James Graham so careful of his locks, and occupying the few moments he has yet to live in frivolous attentions to his person?" "My head," replied the hero, "is yet my own; and while it is so I will dress and adorn it. When it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please." The city was of course soon astir to witness the sight, and the sound of drums and trumpets was heard in the Tolbooth. They attracted the attention of Montrose, who inquired whether there were to be soldiers at the execution. The officer replied, that the Parliament, dreading an attempt to rescue him, had given orders for the soldiers to be called to arms. "What!" he said, "am I still a terror to them? Let them look well to it; for my ghost shall haunt them, and I will be continually present to their wicked con-

1650. sciences." He was conveyed by the baillies out of the gaol, "clothed in a scarlet cloak richly jammaded with golden lace;" and when he reached the foot of the scaffold, which rose thirty feet from the platform, he asked permission to put on his hat, for he had walked to the market-place uncovered; but this was refused him, as well as the leave he demanded to keep on his coat. But while he endured these petty mortifications with firmness, he quailed when he was forced to submit to have his arms pinioned. It had always been the custom in Scotland to permit all who suffered the last penalty of the law to address the assembled spectators; but instructions had been given that this should be refused to Montrose. His friends, however, anticipating this further mark of degradation, had engaged a young lad, who understood brachygraphy, or shorthand, to sit close to the scaffold; and the words the Marquis uttered on this occasion have thus been preserved. This finished, he stood a good space closing his eyes, intent on fervent inward prayer; then calling for the executioner, he gave him all the gold in his pocket, and desired him to fulfil his duty, and to hang the Book of his Wars[7] and Declarations about his neck; when he exclaimed, "I love this more than my badge of Knight of the Garter which His Sacred Majesty was pleased to make me.

[7] This book, which is now very rarely to be met with, is a small 8vo. volume, 1646-7, written in elegant Latin. Clarendon records that "at his first coming to Paris, Montrose caused to be compiled and published a full relation of his campaigns in Latin, which was dedicated to the Prince of Wales, in which his own person, courage, and conduct was well extolled." It was not, however, written by the Marquis himself, although the letters I. G., for Jacobus Grœmus, at the top of the title-page might imply it. The text was the composition of Montrose's chaplain, the Rev. Dr. George Wishart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, and is entitled "I. G. de rebus auspiciis serenissimi et potentissimi Caroli Dei Gratiâ Mag. Brit. Regis, &c., sub imperio illustrissimi Montisrosarum præclari gestis commentarius interpreti A. S.," which initials are another mystery, for they stand for Agricola Sophocardia, which is the disguised name of Wishart the author.

Nay, my honour is more to me than any gold." He then ascended the steep and lofty ladder with astonishing firmness, received the cord about his throat, and told the hangman to throw him off as soon as he observed the uplifting of his hands. After three hours the body was taken down, the head was cut off, and the quarters were removed and sent away to be placed in the four cities named. The remains were buried under the gallows. Five of his most distinguished fellow-sufferers—Sir John Urry, Spottiswood, Hay of Dalgetty, Sibbald, and Captain Charteris of Amisfield, perished at the same time under "the Maiden," a species of guillotine, originally introduced into Scotland by the Regent Morton, who had himself become the first victim of the invention. The bones of the great Montrose were collected after the Restoration, and buried with great pomp and all fitting solemnity in St. Giles's Cathedral, in Edinburgh, in May, 1661. 1650.

Sir W. Scott's character of him.

The picture of Montrose is given with so much graphic detail by Sir Walter Scott in "The Legend of Montrose," that although it must be deemed fictitious, yet, doubtless, it was drawn after much reading and reference to pictorial and historical authority, and is a most pleasant recital, as every composition of Sir Walter's is found to be. He thus describes Montrose as he is supposed to stand amidst the Highland Chiefs at the Castle of Darnlinwarach, after the King's Commission, under the Great Seal, had been opened, appointing "James Graham, Earl of Montrose, Commander-in-Chief of all the forces to be assembled for the service of His Majesty." He is supposed to have entered the conclave as an attendant of the Earl of Menteith, but had now declared himself. "His graceful manners, expressive features, and dignity of deportment, made a singular contrast with the coarseness and meanness of his dress. Montrose possessed that sort of form and face in which the beholder, at the first glance, sees nothing extraordinary; but of which the interest be-

comes more impressive the longer we gaze upon them. His stature was very little above the middle size; but in person he was uncommonly well-built, and capable both of exerting great force, and enduring much fatigue. In fact, he enjoyed a constitution of iron, without which he could not have sustained the trials of his extraordinary campaigns, through all of which he subjected himself to the hardships of the meanest soldier. He was perfect in all exercises, whether peaceful or martial; and possessed, of course, the graceful ease of deportment proper to those to whom habit has rendered all postures easy. His long brown hair, according to the custom of men of quality among the Royalists, was parted on the top of the head, and trained to hang down on each side in curled locks, one of which descended two or three inches lower than the other. The features which these tresses enclosed were of that kind which derive their interest from the character of the man, rather than from the regularity of their form. But a high nose, a full, decided, well-opened, quick grey eye, and a sanguine complexion, made amends for some coarseness and irregularity in the subordinate parts of the face: so that altogether Montrose might be termed rather a handsome than a hardfeatured man. But those who saw him when his soul looked through those eyes with all the energy and fire of genius—those who heard him speak with the authority of talent and the eloquence of nature, were impressed with an opinion, even of his external form, more enthusiastically favourable than the portraits which still survive would entitle us to ascribe to it. Such, at least, was the impression he made upon the assembled chiefs of the mountaineers, over whom, as upon all persons in their state of society, personal appearance has no small influence."

His personal appearance and ac-

Montrose was a man of very princely carriage and good address; "principibus acceptissimus, nec infimis minus carus;" of a very ancient extraction, many of

whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges in the State. He mixed amid the great and royal for the most part with the greatest familiarity. He was equal to every athletic exercise; a good horseman, riding with singular grace; of a resolute and undaunted spirit from his childhood, he was fearless of danger, and never declined any undertaking from a misgiving of his ability to go through with it. Indeed he rather affected those enterprises which appeared desperate to others; for that he was not without considerable vanity, and entertained a somewhat exaggerated estimate of himself, may be learnt from all the accounts of him that we receive from his contemporaries. Accomplishments.

In fine, James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. We meet with many instances of valour in most warriors; but his is the brightest example of true *disinterested* heroism. Against obstacles that would have terrified the most enterprising characters, he undertook to bring back Scotland to the King's obedience at the lowest ebb of Charles the First's fortune; and he effected his purpose by a thousand examples of true military genius and ability, in a singularly short career of glory, so as to merit the greatest reputation within the shortest compass of time that ever fell to the lot of any Commander of ancient or modern times. His loyalty from the moment he raised the Royal Standard was as pure as any that was ever displayed even in an age when it shone the brightest. His influence was electric; and he himself had the courage, and induced others likewise, to perform the most wonderful actions in battle against the most disproportionate inequality of numbers and disadvantage of weapons, that the most devoted heroism ever accomplished[8]. His military genius.

[8] Clarendon, Rapin, Hume, Mark Napier's "Life of Montrose;" Wishart's "Lives of Illustrious Persons," 1550—1690; Browne's "History of the Highlands."

A love-song may not be quite appropriate to the closing scenes of a warrior's life; but Love and War are old associates both in prose and poetry.. There is something in the poetry of Montrosé so beautiful and elevated in sentiment, and so characteristic of the man, that, although it is well known, it will be read again and again with delight:—

LOVE-SONG, BY JAMES, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

"My dear and only Love! My May!
I pray that little world of thee
Be governed by no other sway
Than purest Monarchy;
For if confusion have a part,
Which virtuous souls abhor,
And call a Synod to thy heart,
I'll never love thee more.

"Like Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My soul did ever more disdain
A rival in my throne:
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To win or lose it all.

"Then in the temple of thy heart,—
Where I alone would be,—
If others should pretend a part,
Or dare to share with me,
By love my peace shall ne'er be wrecked,
I'll spurn him from my door,
I'll smiling mock at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

"But if no faithless action stain
Thy truth and constant word,
I'll make thee famous by my pen,
And glorious by my sword:
I'll serve thee with such noble ways
As ne'er were known before;
I'll deck and crown thy head with bays,
And love thee more and more."

OLIVER CROMWELL,

A PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL.

Born 1599. Died 1658.

His birth, parentage and education.

THE strong partisan feeling of the times was disposed (not unnaturally perhaps) to blacken the reputation of one who had constituted in the history of the Rebellion "*the* head and front of the offending." Accordingly it was alleged, with some apparent ground of truth, that Oliver Cromwell was of base extraction, inasmuch as he was the son of a provincial brewer, and not of gentle blood; and this is so far true, that his father, Mr. Robert Cromwell, had a pecuniary interest in a brewery in the town of Huntingdon, where the illustrious subject of our biography was born on the 25th April, 1599. Nevertheless he was of gentle if not of noble blood. Oliver's parent was the third son of Sir Henry Cromwell, Knight, of Hinchinbrooke Hall, and he was maternally descended from the sister of

1618. — Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the great friend of the Reformation, and Minister of Henry VIII. Sir Oliver, his uncle, gave him his name at the font; and Oliver's mother was Elizabeth, niece of Sir Robert Stewart, Knight; so that his ancestors were, although of a provincial aristocracy, yet gentlemen of great worth and fortune, always in the Commission of the Peace, and of usefulness in the service of their country in their counties in many ways.

Oliver Cromwell received his earliest education at the grammar-school in Huntingdon; but he had no turn for the classics, and it is recorded of him, "that he evinced neither amenity of temper nor closeness of application at school." He was of an enthusiastic and ambitious temperament, and being born, as he thought, to honour, he would himself often mention, in later years, what he had related to his father as a boy, "that he had seen a spectre, who told him that he should become the greatest man in the kingdom," and he was chastised by his parent for his "traitorous indiscretion." During his whole life he was not altogether free from singular disorders of his imagination, generally prone to a selfish pride. In 1616 his father sent him to the University of Cambridge, where he was entered as fellow-commoner at Sydney College; and he acquired at this seat of learning a smattering of Greek and Roman history, but was better remembered as a "Roisterer," entering into every athletic amusement heart and soul, and with some success, but in social intercourse tainted with the follies and vices of youth.

Profligacy of his early life: his marriage.

Oliver's father died in 1618, and his mother called him away from the University; but the fruit of ill-living broke forth in him on his return to his native town, and he gave himself over to so lewd and spend-thrift a life, that his mother was recommended to break off the connexion he had formed with companions as idle as himself, and to send him to Lincoln's Inn, in London, where he might study the law. But

so far was this change from amending his life, that he abandoned himself more than before to an unrestrained indulgence in wine, women, and play, in which, having run through the whole career of folly of the capital, and dissipated his paternal estate, he was saved from ruin at this juncture by the opportune death of his maternal uncle, Sir R. Stewart, who bequeathed him a property of about 500*l.* a year. About the same period he married the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Essex, who was related to the Hampdens and Goodwyns, of the Puritan persuasion, so that he soon became as remarkable for temperance and devotion as he had been for folly and extravagance, and, withdrawing from London, he returned to Huntingdon a changed man, and renounced his profligate course of life. 1628.

Joins the Sectaries: is elected Member for Huntingdon, 1628, and for the town of Cambridge, 1640.

Although originally a Church-of-England man, he now grew zealous against forms and ceremonies, and remarkable for a scrupulous observance of Fasts and Lectures. And although his new estate began to feel this new phase of dissipation, he became a leader in the Presbyterian sect which was becoming powerful throughout the land, and by their interest was elected in 1628 to serve in Parliament for the borough of Huntingdon. He entered into all the controversies of the day about religion and politics, opposing Ship-money and the illegal raising of taxes with ardour, and became a popular man with the Puritan party. He had, however, so deeply mortgaged his estate that he thought seriously of a voyage to New England, whither many similar "professors" of his style of godliness emigrated at this period. He was not, however, solely "a prophet in his own country;" and, accordingly, at the general election in 1640 he was fain to stand for the town of Cambridge, where, very much through Mr. Hampden's interest, he got himself elected into the Long Parliament. He became again as zealous a partisan as before, and united with his friends in promoting the famous Remonstrance of

1641. November, 1641, which was presented to the King on the 1st December, at Hampton Court Palace.

Raises his troop of "Ironsides."

Oliver was doubtless a party to the endeavour to take away from the King the power over the militia, and to denounce the preparations that were making by the Court to surround His Majesty with the protection of a sufficient guard; and now he evinced an entirely new phase of character. When the Parliament boldly called upon the country to "furnish and maintain horses, horsemen, and arms, to uphold the power and privileges of Parliament," he repaired to Huntingdon, and by his influence there raised a troop of horse; and with the accustomed vigour of his character he displayed uncommon energy and genius in giving them a most efficient discipline after his own peculiar fashion. To try the courage and discipline of his men, he ordered twelve he best trusted to gallop into their quarters with a trumpet, as if they came from one of the King's garrisons; and when some twenty of his men showed a craven spirit, and fled at the alarm, he dismissed them, and would not listen to any petition for return to their allegiance, nor would he receive any into his troop of whose zeal and fidelity he was not fully confident. Being named by the Parliament a Commissioner for settling the Militia of the Eastern Counties, he carried the troop that he had thus organized to Cambridge, and secured possession of that place in defiance of all the Doctors, who he knew would be assuredly of the King's party. Moreover, having got information that the Colleges had packed up their plate, to be sent to the King at Oxford, he seized on his own account all that still remained. And, reckless of kith or kindred, he visited with his troop of horse the mansion of his godfather, Sir Oliver, and, having first, with characteristic dissimulation, invoked his blessing, ordered his men to pack up and carry away the family plate. His military chest was thus sufficiently furnished to enable him to clothe his troop

with proper arms and uniform, so that they were now known by the name of *Ironsides*, from being well armed in back and breast-plates; and they were soon renowned for their discipline and bravery, for they would stand together firmly as one man, and when ordered to charge would do so with desperate resolution and success. 1644.

He now joined the army under the Earl of Manchester, and distinguished himself in many slight encounters, especially at what was called "Belton Fight," near Grantham. It happened that when he was near St. Albans he heard that the High Sheriff of Hertford had summoned the gentlemen of his county to meet there in order to proclaim all the Parliament leaders, with their Generals, traitors. He accordingly made a forced march, and, entering the town while they were assembled, seized Sir Henry Coningsby and all his company, and sent them away prisoners to London. For this action he received the first thanks of the House, and was constituted Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester, when he marched to York to confront Prince Rupert, and arrived in the camp soon enough to assist Fairfax and Lesley in the Battle of Marston Moor. In this battle Cromwell was wounded in the neck; but his valour and that of his "Ironsides," whom he was wont to call his "lambs," was every where cried up. Indeed the victory of Marston Moor, in 1644, was popularly attributed to his conduct at the head of the cavalry on the left wing, which entirely changed the fortune of the day; and this impression exalted him greatly in the estimation of the Parliament. In his place he denounced the conduct of the Earl of Manchester, to whose friendship he had chiefly owed his reputation, and to whose ultimate fall he not a little contributed from henceforth by indirect insinuations and direct accusations.

Is made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester: his bravery at Marston Moor, 1644.

Cromwell's native shrewdness prevented him, however, from openly aspiring to the command of the Par-

Opposes Essex, and procures

1645. liamentary armies: his policy was, to keep alive his reputation for bravery and conduct in the field, while he gradually undermined the confidence of the leaders of his party in their military officers. Immediately after the second battle of Newbury, on the 25th October, where he had behaved with his accustomed energy, he had the boldness to advance a charge, in the House of Commons, against Essex, the Lord-General, for his negligence in regard to the consequences of that victory. This carping, criticizing proceeding raised powerful enemies against him, and Essex combined with the Scotch Commissioners (who hated Oliver for his openly expressed accusation of cowardice against their army at Marston Moor) to charge him as an incendiary, calculated to affect the good understanding between the two nations. But Cromwell was already possessed of sufficient power to prove himself a dangerous adversary, and had the address to devise and to carry the Self-denying Ordinance, which turned out the Earls of Essex and Manchester, and other Lords and Commoners, from their commands, while, under the pretence of new modelling the army, Oliver himself had leave to hold his Commission notwithstanding. Instead, however, of aspiring higher than subordinate command, he found in Fairfax a man effectually suited to his purpose, since he was an excellent officer, but of a facile disposition, which Cromwell knew he could mould to his own purposes.

the "Self-denying Ordinance."

1645. The high discipline of his "Ironsides:" his success at Naseby, 14th June.

The "Ironsides" were always the most disciplined, the best armed, and the most trusted regiment in the service, and were so attached to their Colonel, that, under his presence, they were, to use his own words, "obedient, respective, and valiant." It is the remark of Clarendon, "from the beginning of the war a difference of discipline was observed between the King's troops and those who marched under the command of Cromwell (for it was only under him, and the same had not been notorious under the old Parliamentary leaders, Essex or Waller), that though the King's cavalry

routed those they charged, they never rallied again or could be brought to a second charge the same day: whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed or were beaten and routed, presently rallied again and stood in good order ready for further action." He was ordered to march to the West to drive the Royalists from Weymouth. He successfully encountered Goring and others, prevented their junction with Prince Rupert, and, having scoured the country as far as Exeter, returned to report himself to Fairfax at Reading. The horse of the entire army, amounting to 4000 men, were now placed under his command; and he was left by the General to keep watch upon Oxford, while the latter carried the army towards Taunton. The Cavaliers were accordingly brought together to overawe Cromwell, and 7000 of them, under Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and Goring, were collected to enable the King to advance out of Oxford, where the Royalist army had become straitened from want of provisions. They successfully sallied forth in January, 1645, and marched away into the midland counties, Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester. Cromwell followed on the footsteps of the King; and Fairfax was ordered by the Parliament to effect a junction with him; but as soon as they came together for this object Oliver feigned, justly or otherwise, some apprehension for what were termed "the Associated Counties"—Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex; and he accordingly obtained directions to carry 3000 foot and 1000 horse into the Isle of Ely for their protection. He increased daily in the favour of the people and of the army, so that the latter wrote to the Parliament to request that Colonel Cromwell might be made Lieutenant-General of the Horse; and the House of Commons directed Fairfax to make this nomination, if he thought proper. He acted in this capacity at the Battle of Naseby, where, with his wonted valour, he chased Prince Rupert so furiously as to change the 1645.

1645. fortune of the battle. The King's left wing was broken, and forced upon the main body of foot, who, from the absence of the Cavaliers plundering the waggons, were entirely routed, so that the King left the field defeated, and fled to Leicester.

Is made Lieutenant-General of the Horse, 16th June.

It was generally conceded that Cromwell had won the victory out of Prince Rupert's hand, as he had previously done at Marston Moor; and therefore, two days after the battle, on the 16th June, the Parliament voted that he should "continue Lieutenant-General of the Horse, notwithstanding The Self-denying Ordinance, and should receive pay from the time of the establishment of the army." This resolution was only voted at first for eight months, but subsequently was continued longer.

His treatment of the "Clubmen:" takes Devizes, and Basing House.

Cromwell now accompanied Fairfax in his march to the assistance of Blake, who was shut up in Taunton by Goring, and took part in the Battle of Langport, in July. After the surrender of Bridgwater with all its rich booty, the Lieutenant-General was sent to Dorsetshire to disperse the "Clubmen," where he exercised his accustomed boldness and forbearance. He met with 10,000 of them under Mr. Newman, near Shaftesbury, where, after reasoning with them, he so completely succeeded in pacifying them, that they went every man to his home. But when another body of these "Clubmen" fired at his messengers, and killed two of them, he ordered a charge upon them, and having killed and taken prisoners some hundreds with the sword, he dismissed the peasants to their villages, and sent the gentlemen who led them to prison. At the siege of Bristol, in August, Cromwell advised Fairfax to storm the city, which quickly surrendered on honourable conditions. He was then directed to summon Devizes; but, upon the Governor pertly replying to his demand, "Win it and wear it," he sat down before the place, and reduced it to obedience in three days. He then proceeded to attack the Mar-

quis of Winchester, who had held Basing House against the Parliament for some time, resisting successfully the attempts of Sir William Waller and others to obtain possession of it. Cromwell planted his battalions with better advantage, and seized the outposts; but when he commanded a storm, the garrison beat a parley. He thought, however, that they had delayed the white flag too long, and ordered his men to fall on, which they did with such resolution that most of the garrison were put to the sword, and the noble owner was sent a prisoner to London. The house with all its rich contents was then sacked with the usual sad accompaniments of unlicensed ravage. After these successes Cromwell again joined Fairfax before Exeter. 1646.

The immediate result of the campaign of 1645 was that in December propositions for an accommodation were debated, and the King was disposed to grant houses and estates to most of the Parliamentary leaders. In the list Cromwell's name appears; he was to be made a Baron, with £2500 a year in pension, and to be constituted of the Commission for the Militia. But after the continued successes of Fairfax and Cromwell in Devonshire and Cornwall the treaty came to an end; the Lieutenant-General, flushed with victory, thought the moment opportune to repair to London with Sir Hardress Waller to advise about the motion of the army; and when he took his seat in the House on the 23rd April, 1646, the Speaker, by command of the House, gave him their hearty thanks for his good services, and ordered him "a present of £500 to buy him horses and furniture, as an earnest token of the affections of the House to him." 1646. Receives the thanks of Parliament, and a sum of money, 23rd April.

The war had now, so far as Cromwell was concerned, come to a pause. The King had given himself up to the Scotch army; Oxford, where the Duke of York had been left, was besieged by Fairfax, and Montrose had disbanded his army in Scotland. The Church and King party was utterly prostrate, and the Republican Struggle between the Presbyterians and Cromwell's party—the Independents.

1646. party was dominant in the State. This party was divided into Presbyterians and Independents, to which latter section Oliver Cromwell belonged: but at the commencement of the Rebellion the former had been the more considerable; and the two most celebrated of the patriots,—Pym and Hampden,—had belonged to it; but both had died in 1643; and although the Presbyterians still possessed much influence, yet they were especially opposed to the soldiery. Indeed they had openly avowed "that they would then disband all armies, that the kingdom might be governed by the known laws." Cromwell, Ireton, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Whitlock had been named by the Government a Select Council in all affairs of the army as to their marching, their quarters, &c. These men, underhand, induced the officers and men to remonstrate against their being sent to Ireland, and were recommended to choose from each regiment deputies called "Agitators," who were to refuse that service for the whole, and to demand arrears of pay. These military representatives met severally, and resolved, in the first instance, "that the troops would not be divided nor disbanded before their full arrears were paid, and full provision made for liberty of conscience." They formed a deputation to proceed in person to the House, to represent "that they did not look upon themselves as Janissaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were themselves a part: and before they laid down their arms they would see all these ends well provided for." They also directed a vindication of their proceedings and resolutions to be addressed to Fairfax, who wrote a letter enclosing it, which was read to the House, in which they complained "how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, for whom they had adventured their lives and lost their blood." This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, —especially as the General seemed to be of the

same mind—troubled the House exceedingly; nevertheless they declared "that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the service of Ireland should be disbanded." The army, on receiving this answer, fell into a direct and high mutiny; and called yet louder for arrears of pay due to them, which, if it were refused any longer, they avowed they knew where and how to levy for themselves. They insisted, moreover, that the Parliament's declaration against them should be razed out of the journals of both Houses. So that the Westminster Government became so frightened, that they named a Committee to treat with the Agitators as to the best expedient to apply to the composing of this distemper. 1646.

He is deputed to treat with the army, and to disband it: his hypocritical behaviour in the House.

Cromwell carried himself all along with that rare dissimulation of which he was so great a master. He at first seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiery. Sitting in the House when such addresses came, he inveighed bitterly against the presumption of them; and his friends proposed that the General should be sent down to the army, "who would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly." He made himself to be so implicitly believed, that it was resolved that he should be expressly sent down to compose the army. He visited them on this mission several times, and was wont to return exceedingly grieved at the great licence that was beginning to prevail among the troops; so much so, that he said he was himself rendered so odious to them that they had had a design to murder him: and on these occasions he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world, at the calamities which were likely to ensue. Nevertheless it was about this time that he gave the soldiers the well-known advice—"to trust in God, and keep their powder dry." Hollis and the Presbyterian party in the House again pressed the business of disbanding; and Cromwell forthwith sent instructions to Ireton, his son-in-law, to apprise the soldiery of this; which so exasperated them, that, when the order for their disbanding arrived,

1647. they refused to obey, and set the authority of Parliament at defiance. Turning the tables, they accused Mr. Hollis and ten other members of high treason, and desired "that the House might be purged." These resolutions to impeach their members were called *cow votes.* Some were for complying with the wishes of the army as prudent to avoid bloodshed. Many of the wiser sort had, however, detected Oliver's hypocrisy, which could not remain long concealed; so that it was privately resolved that, when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would propose to have him sent to the Tower. This purpose, however, could not be carried out so secretly but that he got notice of it; and the very next morning, after lamenting with tears his desperate misfortune at having lost reputation, credit, and authority with the army, and expressing his persuasion that his life would be in danger among them, he was met at break of day riding out of town on the way to the camp, attended by one servant only!

He visits the army: employs Joyce to seize the person of the King, 3rd June.

It was the same June 3rd, 1647, when Cromwell repaired to the army, that Cornet Joyce seized upon the King at Holmby, well-nigh a full year after he had been delivered up to the Scots at Newark. Joyce was one of the "Agitators" of the army; and no one was ever permitted to understand by whose authority, or at whose instigation, he perpetrated this bold stroke. But as soon as he had brought the King to the army His Majesty was presently freed from any subjection to Joyce, and given a better treatment: persons were placed about him who appeared of good breeding, paying His Majesty all possible respect; and, on his making the request, his chaplains were permitted to give their attendance, and perform their functions at the King's accustomed hours; so that Charles believed that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reputed to be; and the change of treatment he received was most grateful to him.

From this time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared

in the council of officers, which they had never done before; and these all freely associated with His Majesty, who found himself well-established in his own palace at Newmarket. The Parliament, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and become "a tower of strength" to the army, wrote to Fairfax; but, before they could receive an answer, the Lord Mayor of London gave positive information, from a letter he had received, that the troops were in march, and might arrive in London the next day by noon. The two Houses, perfectly astounded by this intelligence, resolved that they "would sit next day, being Sunday; and that Mr. Marshal should be there to pray for them." The Speaker again wrote to the General that no part of the army might come within twenty-five miles of London, and that the King's person might be delivered to the Commissioners. Fairfax replied that the army was come to St. Albans before the expression of the desire of the Parliament came to his hands; and that, in obedience to their commands, he would advance no further: but, as to the re-delivery of the King to the former Commissioners, no other answer was returned than "that they might rest assured that all care should be taken for His Majesty's security."

1647.

Alarm of the Parliament at the approach of the army to London.

The remaining six months of the year 1647 were the most critical to Cromwell in his whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary for him to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the army. He openly boasted that "by having the King in his hands the army had got the Parliament in their pocket." Fairfax, with the debonair carriage of a born gentleman, continually waited on the King with all external respect, and had kissed His Majesty's hand with such professions as he well knew how to frame. But though both Cromwell and Ireton were occasionally with the King, they studiously avoided the courtesy of kissing the hand; otherwise they

Contests between the Parliament and the army: Cromwell marches to London: submission of the civic authorities.

1647. behaved themselves with good manners towards him; so that Charles was far from being dissatisfied with the army's good intentions towards him. His Majesty used all the address he knew so well how to employ to draw some promise from the leaders; but they were so reserved, and stood so much on their guard, using but little speech, that nothing could be concluded from what they said. They all excused themselves for not seeing His Majesty oftener upon the great jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity. The poison was however working. The House of Commons were wholly guided by Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, and Glynn, who had been popular Presbyterians from the beginning, and who were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage. The temper of the City was also at this time entirely Presbyterian. The militia of the City consisted also chiefly of men of that spirit and party. The army accordingly came to action, and made a positive and declared resolution "that the militia of London should be put into the hands of persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted." Upon this the Parliament voted "that the yielding to the army in these particulars would be against their honour and their interest, and destructive to their privileges." The City, affecting to be startled at the pretensions of the army to interfere, said that "if the imperious command of the army could prevail with the Parliament to reverse such an ordinance as that of the militia, they had reason to apprehend" other changes; and they backed their petition with a disorderly rabble of apprentices; so that the ordinance, which had been made by desire of the army, was reversed—the apprentices behaving themselves so violently and insolently as to enter the House, and scarcely to suffer its doors to be shut upon them. Upon this indiscretion the army again interfered and the General wrote a very sharp letter. But when this was brought to the House it was discovered that the two

Speakers of the Upper and Lower Houses, with many of their members, were gone down to the army; and it also transpired that the army was appointed to march towards London, and to rendezvous on Hounslow Heath. When the army met there, the Speakers of both Houses appeared in the camp with their maces, and complained to the General that they had not freedom at Westminster, and were in danger of their lives there by the City tumults; and they appealed to the army for protection. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton received the two Speakers, and the members who accompanied them, with all the respect imaginable, and, professing all submission to them as representing the Parliament of England, declared "that they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt." No time was lost in pursuing this resolution; and the troops being under such excellent discipline, although quartered in all the villages up to the very gate of the City, not the least action was permitted to be done that might disoblige or displease the Lord Mayor and the other authorities. Nevertheless Rainsborough, with a brigade of horse, foot, and cannon, was quietly pushed forward to possess Southwark, and made himself master of the works and forts which had been erected to defend the end of London Bridge; so that the citizens on awaking in the morning found that all the avenues leading into London were in the possession of the troops. The Lord Mayor, seeing his dilemma, sent a deputation to wait upon the General, who gave little countenance to the messengers, but continued his march towards the town. He simply required that all the forts of the western approaches should be delivered up immediately to him. And the City, seeing no resource left them but absolute submission, met the General at Hyde Park in their best array, and humbly congratulated him on his arrival. The Mayor, on behalf of the City, presented him with a gold cup, which he sullenly refused to receive; and the Speakers, being escorted by him to

1647.

1647. Westminster, assumed their places, and entered upon business again as if there had been no interregnum. Cromwell, who had raised all this storm, witnessed with secret joy the increase of influence and authority it gave the army, and observed with delight the humiliation of the Parliament, availing himself adroitly of these circumstances for his own further advancement.

Cromwell's declared distrust of the King: rise of the "Levellers:" Charles apprehends personal violence, and escapes from the hands of the army.

The King had been removed to Hampton Court when the army marched to London, and Cromwell frequently visited His Majesty there; and it has been said that he was disposed to listen favourably to some temptations which were held out to induce him to change his views, and restore Charles to sovereign power. However, whether the things that are written on this subject be true or false, he soon obtained clear evidence that in these matters His Majesty was not to be trusted, and he at length openly asserted in his place in Parliament "that the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler,—one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future." There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, who, either by their own choice or without their consent, were called *Levellers*, whose tenets were—"That all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established both in titles and estates throughout the kingdom." We, who live more than two centuries later than these times, know that these are exactly what Clarendon terms "those tares which are sown in all confusions." Cromwell, who rather mistrusted such *fungi* of the body politic, and knew the licentious discourses of the soldiery infected by them, took steps for the better security of the Royal Person in order to prevent any violence that might be attempted on the King's life His Majesty was in some perplexity to understand a change in Oliver's address; and several little billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him, advertised the King of designs against his life.

He did at length really believe that the malice of his enemies was at its height, and that they did design his murder. There is reason to believe that he thought he might be enabled to transport himself beyond sea, which was the reason of his effecting his escape from Hampton Court, and of his resolve to surrender himself up to Colonel Hammond, who was the Governor of the Isle of Wight for the Parliament. 1647.

The escape of Charles out of the hands of the army was a very startling piece of information to all parties at Westminster: but within two days Cromwell allayed all anxieties by informing the House of Commons "that he had received letters from Colonel Hammond of all the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of Wight, and the company that came with him, and that he had secured the person of His Majesty in Carisbrooke Castle until the pleasure of Parliament should be known." Oliver now found it necessary to change his tactics. The Presbyterians in both Houses, and in the City, were humbled and silenced; but the "Agitators," although raised up by him at the first to oppose and destroy that party, had now become a needless "fire in his own quarters," and it was desirable to extinguish it. The Parliament was perfectly in hand, and he was desirous to uphold its authority, and by it to carry out what was now best to be done. But the "Agitators" were not so ready to be dismissed from State Affairs, for which they had "learned a pleasant relish." By caressing the officers, procuring posts for some of them, and promising others, he brought many over to his interests; but he could not influence the "Levellers" in this way, which therefore made new demands upon his cunning, dexterity, and courage. He attended one of their meetings in person unexpectedly, but prudently surrounded himself with a guard of followers chosen from among those on whom he could rely. With a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions which were replied to

Cromwell puts down the "Agitators" and the "Levellers" with a prompt and vigourous hand.

1647. with insolence, he knocked two or three of the most prominent answerers on the head with his own hand; while he ordered Colonel Eyre, Major Scot, and Captain Bray, to be taken into custody. One man, of Lilburn's regiment, the more mutinous of the whole, he ordered to be shot; and he then dispersed the rest of them by a resolute charge of his attendant guard, capturing and sending many prisoners to London to be tried, who were hanged. This rough and brisk temper of Cromwell soon subdued this spirit in the army, which might, if suffered to get head, have produced all imaginable confusion in the kingdom.

He recovers the favour of the army: a Fast kept.

There was a personal daring in this transaction which gained Cromwell many admirers, while the remainder trembled before his power. He hastened, however, to make it up again with the army: the mutinous officers and soldiers were received again into favour; and on this reconciliation a Fast was kept by order of the Council of War, when the Lieutenant-General and Ireton entertained the soldiery with many edifying prayers of considerable length, according to his custom in those cases.

Cromwell's address to the House: the army resolves to prosecute the King on a capital charge.

When the King refused to pass the four Bills sent down to him at the Isle of Wight by the Parliament, Oliver, then in the House, after several days spent in passionate debates to this purpose, proposed that "they should make no more addresses to the King, but provide for the peace of the kingdom as they should judge best." After this vote all the body-servants of the King were removed from about his person, and new servants, spies, and creatures of the dominant party, were alone permitted to be near him. Matters now speedily culminated to the consummation of the King's death—Cromwell, always henceforward shaping the progress of affairs, addressed the House in these words, "'Tis now expected by the good people of the nation and the army that the House would come to some resolution and settlement as the

price of all the blood and treasure that have been expended in the war, and that they will not leave them to the expectation of any good from a man whose heart God had hardened; for if they do (laying his hand upon his sword) they shall be forced to look to their protection some other way." He did not leave them long in any doubt as to what he meant by this equivocal language, for at a meeting of the officers of the army it was resolved, "That the King should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person." The daring thought of the heart of Cromwell had at length found utterance: it struck harshly at first upon the public mind, where the sacred reverence for Kings still held sway; but it soon appeared to the leading spirits as the only means of escape from a maze of difficulties. "A King, whose name was a tower of strength," which they in authority lacked, was difficult to hold in durance; and no terms could be made with a man that was mistrusted. How was this to be remedied? Could he be tried? and what if he were to be pronounced guilty? No one as yet dared to name the penalty of a conviction. For the moment, however, circumstances called Cromwell from the army, and the matter slept. 1647.

Proceedings of the Presbyterians in Scotland: Cromwell defeats the Scots near Nantwich: Duke Hamilton is taken prisoner.

The Presbyterian party, which had been kept down in England as well in Parliament as in the army, was still strong in North Britain, and, by the intrigues of the Royalists in France, the Scots were now roused to avail themselves of the commotions in Kent and several places in the North of England, to make an inroad into England. Duke Hamilton, who had the *prestige* of having fought by the side of Gustavus Adolphus[1],

[1] Nothing has been more common in all ages and in every country than to be biassed by the *prestige* of an officer having served under a great General; whereas nothing can be more erroneous. A Statesman, or a scholar, an artist, or an artificer, may "learn a dodge" or two from the manner of a master: but a soldier is removed from his General "by a great gulf" that can only be bridged by superior natural intelligence. They

1647. was placed by Leslie's refusal to act, at the head of the Scotch army, and being urged by the revolters in England to come to their assistance because Lambert was marching against them, they promised to cross the border. The moment was sufficiently anxious to call both Fairfax and Cromwell into the field; and while the former marched against the Kentish men, the latter advanced to the West in order to suppress the risings in South Wales, and to be ready to fall upon the Scots as soon as they should make their appearance in England. He took Pembroke Castle with little opposition, and advanced upon Pontefract, where, about the middle of July, he had notice that Duke Hamilton had entered Carlisle, and, having united with Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the northern revolters, was pressing hard on Lambert. Cromwell immediately turned his head northwards, and came upon their united forces near Preston. Langdale's advance disputed the attack of Cromwell's men for above six hours, and fought desperately, but received no assistance from the Scots, for Duke Hamilton marched on his army to Wigan and Warrington, and thence to Nantwich and Uttoxeter. Here at length Cromwell closed upon him: and Lambert, charging at the head

scarcely ever meet, and possibly never interchange a single word, during the whole period of a common service. Duke Hamilton is an apt example of this error. To those who may have read "The Warriors of the Thirty Years' War" it will be no surprise to see from the history of his campaign in England, in 1647, that he had learnt nothing in the school of the great Swedish King. "He marched so negligently that his head-quarters were often twenty miles from his army." "He himself performed no duty of a General, but took his ease," "persuaded himself that no enemy could be near, although his advance apprised him that it was actually engaged." Langley declared that "if but 1000 men had been sent up to him, he should have gained the day." The Duke, indifferent to this attack, pushed on, as if nothing had happened, and "neither behaved himself like a General, nor with that courage which before he was not thought to want." This is Clarendon's account of Duke Hamilton.

of the horse, took Duke Hamilton and all the principal officers of his army prisoners. The whole army was consequently routed and defeated, and all who were not killed in fight were taken prisoners, with all their cannon, colours, and baggage. This great victory was obtained by Cromwell over the Scottish army, three times as numerous as his own, and with scarcely more than fifty casualties. 1647.

Cromwell resolves to uproot Presbyterianism: his reception in Edinburgh by Argyle: commands the surrender of Berwick.

Oliver,—whose characteristic it was to hate and to despise the Scots,—resolved, that, having perfected his defeat of Duke Hamilton, he would destroy Presbyterianism and their "humbugging" Covenant by the roots; and he marched towards Scotland about the beginning of September. Major-General Monroe, who had entered England after Duke Hamilton, resisted all the persuasions of Sir Thomas Tildersley "that his forces and some regiments of Scots, who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march back to Preston, to fall upon Cromwell's rear, when he was gone after Hamilton's army;" and, after his forces had been dispersed, desired him "that he might unite together against the common enemy." But Monroe resolutely rejected every proposition, and marched with all possible expedition back into Scotland, offering no opposition to Cromwell, who was received by the Marquis of Argyle in Edinburgh with all solemnity and respect as the deliverer of their country. Cromwell, who acted with his accustomed resolution as arbitrator in every thing civil and military, commanded that Monroe's army should be disbanded, and Berwick surrendered to the English; and having settled every thing to his satisfaction he returned to England, where he thought his presence was likely to be again wanted.

Negotiations between the Parliament and the

On his way to London the General stopped at St. Albans, the head-quarters of the army, where he was welcomed with shouts of joy by the soldiers, who heralded his presence back to the House, where his party

1647. wanted him. In his absence the Common Council had petitioned Parliament "that they would entertain a personal treaty with the King, in order that the kingdom might be restored to a happy peace;" and in the beginning of August a Committee was sent to Carisbrooke Castle with a message, "that the Houses did desire a treaty with His Majesty upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court." This treaty had, on the 18th September, been begun. The Commissioners continued their negotiations till the last day of November, after which the question was debated in the Houses with much virulence and acrimony, "whether the answer that the King had made to their propositions was satisfactory." But while this was debating six officers from the head-quarters of the army brought to the Houses "the large remonstrance," which troubled the Parliament considerably, and the more so because they were advertised that Colonel Hammond, who had hitherto had charge of the King's body at Carisbrooke, had been discharged from this trust, and that another Colonel had been sent to take the person of the King, and to carry him to Hurst Castle.

King: removal of Charles to Hurst Castle.

The army marches to London: arrest of several members by Colonel Pride.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the King's treaty, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted "that the seizing upon the King's person, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without their advice and consent," and they wrote to the General, "that it was the pleasure of the Houses that he should recall those orders." But Fairfax, instead of taking any notice of their complaint or command, coolly demanded payment of the arrears due to the army, and said, "unless present money were sent for that purpose, he should be forced to remove the quarters of the army and draw it nearer to the capital." The General, without more discussion, marched directly for London, and quartered at Whitehall. The House forthwith appointed a Committee to confer with the General, who waited upon him in his

lodging at Whitehall the same afternoon; but they were detained full three hours before they could be admitted to his presence, when he told them sullenly and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the army was to comply with their remonstrance." Next morning a guard of musketeers was placed at the door of the House, under Colonel Pride; and certain members were stopped, one by one, as they came, and were sent in custody into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours to the number of near one hundred. The debate inside continued nevertheless, and in conclusion the House voted the negative to what had been settled previously,—"that the answer the King had given to their propositions was *not* satisfactory." The prisoners were afterwards led under a strong guard through Westminster Hall to a place under the Exchequer (which was commonly called Hell) where they might eat and drink, *at their own cost if they pleased;* and here they were detained till after midnight, when they were carried to several inns for lodgement, and remained under this confinement for two or three days. 1648.

Nobody owned this violence in peremptorily excluding so many members. Fairfax, the General, knew nothing of it; and the guards themselves, being asked what authority they had, gave no other answer but that they had orders. Colonel Pride was the man who stood with the paper of names in his hand, and who directed their apprehension. There is little doubt, however, what master-spirit now swayed the actions of the dominant party. The excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, did not (many of them) return to their seats; so that no hindrance existed to the formation of a Committee to carry out the resolution of the army above mentioned by preparing "a charge of High Treason against Charles Stuart, King of England." When the House of Commons had prepared such a charge, and digested it into several articles, they sent 1649.

The House of Peers, refusing to concur with the Commons against the King, is suppressed: Charles is brought for trial to Westminster, 20th Jan.

1649. it to the House of Peers for their concurrence. But there it was so ill received, that there was not one person found who would concur in the proposition: accordingly it was rejected, and they adjourned the House for a week, thinking that they should thus put an impediment to the act. But when, on the day appointed, the Lords returned to their House, they found the doors all locked and fastened with padlocks, and no one could get entrance, nor did any of them ever afterwards meet in that assembly. For refusing to consent to the King's trial, the Lords were voted by the Commons useless and dangerous; and, nothing now standing in the way, a High Court of Justice consisting of 150 members was constituted, who should have authority to try the King—who was now removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and from thence he was shortly carried to St. James's, and brought to Westminster Hall on the 20th January, 1649.

Cromwell takes part in the trial of the King, and is a member of the New Council of State, 7th Feb.

Oliver Cromwell sat openly in the High Court of Justice without any pre-eminence over the rest, but was always in every matter of detail the foremost and most active member. He gave his voice for the King's death the more heartily, as he knew it was the only obstacle to the ambitious designs which had long since filled his breast. As he was the moving hand in all, it is probable that he gave directions for the embalming of the King's body, and for its being exposed for many days to public view, that all men might know that the King was really dead; and it was he who ordered the body to be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expense should not exceed £500. But the story which has become illustrated and popular—that Oliver Cromwell saw Charles in his coffin, is not to be believed, as he could have had no feelings whatever to gratify by so needless an act. It was enough for his purpose that the King was disposed of, and no longer in the way of his advancement; and, this being now effected, he took his seat

in the new Council of State, where his name stands first on the Roll, on the 7th February, one week after the death of King Charles the First. 1649.

The condition of Ireland had been left very much to itself while the distractions continued in England between the Parliament and the army. The Marquis of Ormonde had arrived there as Chief Governor for the King, sent over from the Queen's Court at Paris, and had endeavoured to compose the animosities which from all time have flourished in that distracted kingdom. The confederate Roman Catholics promised one thing, and Owen O'Neille another, and the General Assembly a third; but all desired to make settlements and agreements for themselves, independently of others. Ormonde, however, took the field, and marched towards Dublin, within which he blocked up the Parliament forces, while he took Dundalk, Tredagh, and other places, and sent Lord Inchiquin away to look after affairs in Munster. In the meantime succours reached Dublin out of England; and Jones, the Parliamentary Governor, with a body of 300 foot and three or four troops of horse, fell upon Ormonde, and so discomfited him, that he raised the blockade. Nevertheless the Royalists, with a Lord-Lieutenant installed by a sort of authority over the sister kingdom, created apprehensions, which were increased by the reports that now came from St. Germain, that the young King was about to repair thither himself to set up his Standard. When, therefore, it was designed to send an army across the Irish Channel, Waller was set up by the Presbyterians to have the command of it, to which Cromwell made objections, and he named Lambert "the second man of the army;" but the matter had here rested in suspense. Clarendon makes the remark, that "Cromwell himself was always absent from the House" when his name was broached for any purpose. But it so happened that on a sudden some friends proposed that the Lieutenant-General himself should con-

The vice-royalty of the Marquis of Ormonde in Ireland: he is compelled to raise the blockade of Dublin, on the arrival of Cromwell, 19th Aug.

1649. duct the expedition. The next day,—15th March,—Oliver appeared in his place, and "with the natural temper and composure of his understanding expressed his own unworthiness and disability to support so great a charge." He refused accordingly to give any answer to the offer, and indeed it was not till fifteen days later, on the 31st March, that he accepted that command. But from the moment of his assuming that charge an incredible expedition was used for the raising of the requisite money, shipping, and forces, for the enterprise. Before all things were got ready for his own journey 13,000 foot and horse had marched to Milford Haven to be transported from thence to Dublin; adverse winds however constrained them to remain for several days, so that it was the 12th August before Oliver, as Lord-Lieutenant, with Ireton as Lieutenant-General, embarked with a great fleet, and they landed at Dublin with all accustomary honours on the 19th,—two or three days after Ormonde had retired from before the city, as above related.

Cromwell takes Tredagh and Wexford; but fails at Waterford: his politic proposition to the Irish.

Before the Marquis could again draw an army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh. A sally from the garrison of 200 horse, under Sir Thomas Armstrong, was not only repulsed, but the Commander and every Cavalier were taken prisoners. On the 25th September the place was stormed—the garrison made a stout resistance, and repulsed some thousand men who had actually entered the town; but at length Colonel Wall was killed in the defence of the breach at the head of the Irish, and all the defenders were put to the sword, when Ashton, the Governor, Sir Edmund Verney, Colonels Warr, Fleming, and Finglass, with about 3000 men, perished. From thence Cromwell marched towards Wexford, and took several garrisons in his way; some 2000 Irish were slain, with little loss on the part of the assailants in these places. These discouraging losses took away all hopes from the Marquis of drawing together forces strong enough and resolute enough to

meet Cromwell in the field, while the time of year for campaigning was drawing to a close. But Oliver was no man for inaction; he took no rest, but making himself terrible by every excess of rigour and cruelty he marched into Munster, where all the terrified towns made haste to declare for the Parliament, including even the city of Cork. He received some check at Waterford, where some 2000 French were in garrison, whom he failed to subdue; and the weather began to tell upon his men in camp. Cromwell however made notable use of the animosity of the Irish amongst themselves, and tried hard to obtain a conference with the Marquis of Ormonde, whom he thought he might be able to draw off from the party of the King. He was a man so fertile in all expedients, that, seeing what an unsettled disposition reigned among the people of this kingdom, he published a full liberty and authority to all the officers of the Irish, and to all persons whatsoever, to raise what men they could, and to carry them away for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and he thus found means to send above 40,000 men out of the kingdom, which were enough to have restored it to the King's entire obedience. 1649.

A mutiny in the army promptly suppressed by Fairfax.

Before the close of the year 1649 the caballers of the army had recovered their courage in the absence of Cromwell, and had mutinied in several places upon presumption that the rest of the army could not be prevailed upon to oppose and reduce them by force. But Lord Fairfax was of sterner stuff than to be alarmed at such presumption. Accordingly, as soon as he had information of this revolt at his head-quarters at Acton, he hastened, marching forty miles in the day, and overtook them at Abingdon. The "Levellers" fell back to Burford, and here, as at Wellingborough, the General promptly beat up their quarters, and, killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed the whole faction.

1650. Partly, perhaps, on account of these disturbances, and probably more in regard to Scottish affairs, into which kingdom King Charles had been actually received by the Marquis of Argyle, the House, on the 12th January, ordered the Speaker to write to inform Cromwell that they desired to "consult with him about supplies of men, money, and ammunition." This order found Oliver active in the field. In February he advanced upon and took Kilkenny, mastered the whole county of Tipperary, and marched towards Limerick. In the way he sat down before Clonmel, where, being now sent for by the Parliament, he left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, his son-in-law, having brought under obedience in the short interval of eight months the whole of Ireland, excepting the two towns of Waterford and Limerick. He landed at Bristol in the end of May, and was met on Hounslow Heath by the most eminent Parliament men and officers of the army, who escorted him to Whitehall, where he was lodged[2]. He took his seat in the House on the 4th June, and "had their hearty thanks for his great and faithful services."

Cromwell, invited back by the Parliament, 12th Jan., leaves Ireland almost totally subjugated: lands at Bristol, May: receives the thanks of the House, 4th June.

Many most important matters awaited his presence. The Parliament resented the insolence of the Scots for proclaiming the young King, who had even signed the Covenant, and now conformed (with an indifferent grace it may be said in passing) to the importunities of their clergy, who had obliged him to listen to their long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews had ever done their Sabbaths, reprehending him sharply if he ever smiled, or if his looks and gestures did not please them.

Charles II. gains the favour of the Scotch and English Presbyterians: Fairfax refuses to lead the army against Scotland: Cromwell

[2] On his approach to Tyburn a prodigious concourse of people was awaiting his arrival, when one, designing to flatter him, remarked, "What a number of people, Sir, are come together to welcome you home!" to which he replied with a smile, "But how many more, do you think, would not have flocked to this same place to see me hanged!"

All this had so delighted the Scotch people that his condition was day by day advanced, and he seemed to be in possession of the kingdom without a rival. The King's acquiescence in religious matters pleased likewise the Presbyterian party in England, and they evinced a determined opposition to sending an army from England into Scotland. There were others likewise who had become wearied with the arbitrary power assumed by the army, whose dominion and authority they had found very grievous; and there were others who thought all war unjust, and unprofitable, and very expensive. To add to these difficulties, others arose at the same moment. Fairfax declared positively that he would not command the army if it was intended against Scotland. Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock, were appointed a Committee to confer with him, and to endeavour to remove his scruples. All to no purpose, however, but very much to suit the purposes of the first-named. A vote was taken on the 26th to "constitute Oliver Cromwell Captain-General-in-Chief of all the forces raised and to be raised by the Commonwealth of England." This made in fact little alteration, for Fairfax, though he had hitherto worn the name of General, was notoriously subordinate in every action to the master-mind who had all along modelled the army to his own wishes as absolutely as he did now. Although the Republic was more given to ceremonies and pomp than the Kingdom had ever been, and the time of the new Captain-General was wholly taken up in inaugurations, and congratulations, Oliver was never a man to sit still under such idle forms, but as soon as possible made off for his post, so that on 19th July he was in command of the army at Newcastle, where he was received and entertained with much pomp by Sir Arthur Hasslerigge, the Governor. The old animosity that the Scots had long borne against the person of Cromwell made those in authority in that kingdom prepare a very numerous body of soldiers, well provided, and

1650. — is made General-in-Chief, and proceeds thither 19th July.

1650. supplied with all things necessary to defend themselves against his invasion of their land. Their army was thoroughly cleansed of any of the King's or Hamiltonian parties, and was a most prayerful body militant, under the government of Kirk and State, in which the ministers exercised the chief authority, and prayed and preached, instead of trusting to "that arm of the flesh, discipline, subordination, and general obedience."

Arrival of Cromwell near Edinburgh: terror of the Scots.

On the 25th July Cromwell mustered his army on Haggerston Moor—6500 horse, and 1100 foot. The army received him with shouts of joy, indicative of their confidence of victory under his truncheon. The terror of his name frightened all the peasantry from their houses, so that on entering Scotland, in the first town he came to, not a man, woman, or child was to be seen. Accordingly he put forth a proclamation against plundering, and placed under system the collection of supplies; for the country was so much bared from other causes that his army was soon reduced to great straits for provisions, which had to be collected and sent round by sea. However he met with no hostile opposition till he reached Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh. He heard that the Scots were at Gladsmuir; but no considerable body of the enemy appeared, so that he went forward and drove the rear-guard down Arthur's Hill, within a short distance of the city. The first reconnoissance sufficed to induce him to draw off his army to Musselburgh and Dunbar, where he looked for the arrival of his supplies. Here, in falling back, General Strachan, with 1500 of the Kirk horse, fell suddenly upon the English, crying out "Give no quarter, but kill all." This gasconade was soon checked, and the rash intruders were charged back to the very gates of Edinburgh, leaving 300 prisoners behind them. In the conflict Cromwell, who led a charge in person, was fired at with a carbine, when Oliver, being pretty near the marksman, called out to him, "If you had been a soldier of mine, I would have cashiered you for being so bad a shot." The only

impediments to the Captain-General's advance into the capital were the trenches and ditches, under which the enemy's musketeers held firm. But so soon as "Cromwell had received some provisions, he began to take schemes to withdraw the Scots from these defences." 1650.

Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, 3rd Sept.

It was the 28th August, when Cromwell's army, having been posted between Musselburgh and the Pentland hills, broke up, and on the 1st September marched away to Dunbar. The Scots immediately concluded that the English had fled. Their whole army, said to be 27,000 men, followed close upon their adversaries on the 2nd September; and Sir David Lesley accordingly drew up his men in order of battle, in which posture they stood all day—a ditch being between the armies. Oliver ordered his army in the night to get as close to the ditch as possible, and placed his field-pieces before every regiment. In the morning of the 3rd he observed a considerable stir in the Scotch camp amounting to something of an irregular excitement, and observed to those around him "The Lord will deliver them into our hands: see what a bustle they are in." In effect they quitted their camp marching very loosely, but hastily extending their line to the side of the sea; and Cromwell, having pointed out the fault of their movement to Lambert, desired him to avail himself of it by falling upon them in the march. He directed Whaley and Lilburn to seize a pass that lay between Dunbar and Berwick, which threatened his rear, and which the Scots already occupied. The fight began at this point; and, after a hot dispute, the English at length possessed themselves of this pass; but the right wing of the Scotch horse, coming down upon them, charged the occupants very warmly, but were as gallantly received. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, sent up by Cromwell in support, charged so vigorously, that the Scotch horse ran for it, and both cavalry and infantry were already in flight before six o'clock in the

1650. evening. The whole thing was an affair of less than an hour, when the entire body of the enemy's foot were cut in pieces, taken, or put to flight; so that there were said to have been 3000, or 4000 killed in the battle, and 10,000 prisoners taken in the chase; all the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were absolutely taken—"bag, baggage, and ordnance,"—together with 200 colours, and the purse in which the Great Seal of Scotland used to be carried,—all which were sent up to London as trophies of this great victory. The English are said to have lost very few men by that day's service; indeed their loss has been placed as low as forty men. For this action the Parliament ordered that silver medals should be given to every officer and man who served in the ranks on this occasion. These medals of course are still to be seen in every good collection. They are oval, and have on the obverse a bust of Cromwell in armour; behind is a distant representation of the army. The Legend is "Word at Dunbar, Sept. 3rd, 1650, the Lord of Hosts." The reverse represents the Parliament in Session. It is said that some were struck in gold for the superior officers; but I do not believe that any one of these is extant. There are two sizes, however, in silver; that both "officers and men which did this excellent service" might be respectively rewarded[3].

The victors enter Edinburgh: anecdote of Charles II.

General Lesley, who commanded the Scotch army, escaped by flight, and brought the first news of his own defeat to Edinburgh; but he was soon followed by the victors, who marched directly for the capital, which opened its gates to receive them. King Charles the

[3] The history of War Medals is not well known. Many are believed to exist that were struck by order of Queen Elizabeth and James I.; but the first of which there is any authentic account *was worn as a military decoration*, and was granted by Charles I., in 1642, for such as distinguished themselves in forlorn hopes. The name of Robert Walsh is recorded as the first recipient. He gained it at Edge Hill.

Second was not permitted by his gaolers to take part in the battle, but was at St. Johnston's, closely watched by Lord Lorn, eldest son to the Marquis of Argyle. He unaffectedly rejoiced at the defeat of the party which treated him with the most odious tyranny, so that one day being on horse-back, pretending to take the air, he rode away from his escort, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Seaforth, with about twenty horse, and lodged one night in the Highlands; but he was induced to listen to the entreaties of the Government, which was put into great distraction by this proceeding, and he subsequently returned. With a political object Charles was now crowned at Scone, and afterwards established his Royal Court at Stirling Castle; so that "the King did in a good degree enjoy the fruits of Cromwell's victory." Before the English again took the field His Majesty once more made David Lesley his General, with Middleton as Lieutenant-General commanding the horse. The artillery was fresh modelled, and placed under Wemmes (probably Wemyss), a confessedly good officer. Many of the highest noblemen and gentlemen raised regiments, and appeared very hearty and cheerful in their commands, or as volunteers. 1650.

The Castle of Edinburgh surrendered to Cromwell on December 24th; but in the early portion of the year 1651 Cromwell fell sick of a fever and ague at the capital. As soon, however, as the Parliament were apprised of this they sent down from London two of the most eminent physicians[4] to attend to his health; but it seems that, notwithstanding all their care and skill, it was not till the month of June that the Captain-General's health was so far re-established

The Castle of Edinburgh surrenders 24th Dec.: illness of Cromwell: he again takes the field, June 1651: Lesley marches into Lancashire.

[4] One of these Physicians was Doctor Bate, who had been of the Household, and who has left behind him some memoirs sufficiently Royalist in opinion, both as regards the person and the cause of the two Kings he served, and at the same time of great freedom and sagacity as towards Oliver Cromwell, whose health was likewise entrusted to his professional care.

1651. as to permit him once more to take the field. The Scotch and English armies were respectively 15,000 and 20,000 men; who met face to face at Torwood. There were frequent skirmishes between them, and the cannon played on both sides; but neither side seemed disposed to attack; and at length Cromwell moved back to Linlithgow. He had carefully reconnoitred the Royal army in several demonstrations which he had made under the very cannon of the King, to discover how to force a position naturally a strong one, and which had been strengthened by all the protection that the military science of the time could give it There were earthworks and abattis on the slopes; and a rivulet with boggy banks flowed in front, while the great river of Forth covered the flanks. Cromwell now thought to draw the King away from this strong position by tempting him to repossess Edinburgh; but Lesley was not to be led astray by so old a "dodge," and stood firm. Oliver therefore resolved to cross the Firth into Fife, in order to alarm the King from his rear, and despatched Lambert with this view. To protect the passes on this side Major-General Brown had been placed here with 4000 of the King's men. Brown had formerly served with Cromwell on the side of the Parliament, and the Captain-General, it is thought, exerted some indirect influence over him to induce him to keep one eye closed upon his guard. At any rate Lambert found an opportunity of falling on this body of Scots, and cutting off three regiments of horse and five of foot, and so gained the pass of St. Johnston, which was behind the Royal army, effectually cutting off all supplies coming to them from the north of the kingdom. This was a matter of serious moment to Lesley, and put him upon anxious thought how to act. He resolved, however, on a step in this emergency worthy of the best days of his generalship. He was now nearer to England than the forces of the Parliament, and he resolved to steal a march on his opponent and enter

it. All the northern parts of England had given him cause to believe that they were well-affected to the King's service; and it might not only be possible to maintain the army there, but also to increase it by the addition of such men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon it was resolved that the army should break up from their impregnable camp, and march with as much expedition as possible into Lancashire; and expresses were sent to the Earl of Derby, who still securely held the Isle of Man, "that he should meet His Majesty in Lancashire." 1651.

Perplexity of Cromwell on hearing of Lesley's entrance into Lancashire.

Though Cromwell had pretty good intelligence of what was done in the King's army and councils, and had even advised the Parliament on the 26th July, that such a course was open to the Royal army, yet he did not expect an act of such boldness on their part. The resolution adopted by Lesley was, however, concerted with so much secrecy, and executed with such wonderful celerity, that the army had marched a whole day before advice of this movement transpired: and it was in truth the 29th July before the Captain-General was aware of the step, which was after all the greatest surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. At the same time that the King's army moved, the Marquis of Argyle quitted it, and retired to his house in the Highlands. What was his object, was then, and is still, a mystery;—nevertheless it complicated the situation. If the English left Scotland altogether, the advantages that had been gained over the enemy would be presently lost, and the whole kingdom would be again united in some new mischief. If they pursued the English army with only a part of their following, Cromwell feared he might be too weak after overtaking the King to engage him on any thing like equal terms. Two other considerations also troubled him exceedingly,—the one, the terrible consternation that he foresaw the Parliament would be in when they heard of the King's Scotch army's approach

1651. without their having any organized force remaining near them for their protection; the other was, the possible rising of the Royalists, as well nobility and gentry as people, if the King had time given him to set himself up in any place of strength.

The Royal army enters Carlisle, 6th Aug.: Cromwell's directions to Lambert and Monk.

Major-General Harrison had about 3000 horse, in Lancashire, with which to oppose the King's army, already increased to 16,000 men, when it entered Carlisle on the 6th August. Without a moment's delay Lambert was despatched by Cromwell with 700 or 800 more horse, with orders "immediately to follow the King, and to disturb His Majesty's march the most he could by being near and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions without a very notorious advantage, but to keep himself entire until the main army should come up with him." Cromwell next despatched an express to Parliament to assure them "that he would himself overtake the Royal army before they could give them any trouble. For their enemies, in despair and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, were run to try what they could do in this way." The Trainbands all over England were ordered to oppose the King, and such as were nigh to join Cromwell's army; and further orders were issued for drawing some auxiliary troops together in the several counties nearer the frontier. Major-General Monk (who had already drawn upon him the confidence of the Captain-General as an excellent officer, as well as a man entirely devoted to him,) was directed to keep Edinburgh and the harbour of Leith; and, if he should meet anywhere with a stubborn resistance, "to give no quarter, nor to except such places as he might have to storm from a general plunder," to surprise and apprehend all such considerable persons as he might suspect, and to gag the pulpits. In fine, "to make himself as formidable as was possible."

Cromwell menaces Scotland.

When Cromwell had despatched all these orders and directions, which he did with marvellous expedition, and

had seen most of them advanced in some degree, he began his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the King had gone, giving out with confidence that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who had dared to invade it from Scotland, and would then return and punish Scotland. 1651.

The Earl of Derby replied promptly to the Royal summons; and, with such forces as he had in the Isle of Man, he joined His Majesty on his arrival in Lancashire. His Majesty was everywhere proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; but few people of note "pronounced" in his favour; and the country was for the most part hearty for the Parliament. On the 16th August the Royalists reached Warrington, where, to their surprise, they found an enemy drawn up in open field, but not apparently considerable enough to stop their march. This turned out to be Lambert, who had made so much haste as to have already joined himself to Harrison. They were forthwith attacked, and, according to Cromwell's orders, retired, but with more haste, it was thought, than a well-ordered retreat justified: and this success made a great noise, as though the Parliamentarians had received a check or defeat. It was not thought fit, nevertheless, to pursue them; and Clarendon gives an anecdote of some speech between the King and Lesley, who, when rallied by His Majesty for some depression in this victory, replied, "that he was melancholy, because he knew that the army, howsoever well it looked, would not fight." Success of the Royalists at Warrington, 16th Aug.: anecdote of Lesley.

The weather was exceedingly hot; and both horse and foot grew weary of this forced march in the middle of August. This also tended to discourage the men, many of whom fell back or deserted, for the strength of the Parliamentary edicts created much alarm; yet no army was on their track, for Cromwell took his march through Yorkshire, in order that he might prevent any demonstration of the enemy towards London, Worcester joyfully opens its gates to the King: Cromwell gets nearer than Lesley to London.

1651. and therefore without any opposition Lord Fairfax was marching northwards on the same flank. The King marched to Shrewsbury, which he summoned; but, though the place was but slightly garrisoned, the Governor returned a rude denial. However, the army crossed the Severn, and under the lee of its right bank marched uninterruptedly to Worcester. This city forthwith opened its gates, and received the King with all the demonstrations of affection and duty that could be expressed. Such provision as was required, together with a present supply of shoes and clothing, as in so long a march was much wanted, were supplied to the troops: and the King was proclaimed with all the solemnity that could be afforded by the presence of a Herald, attended by the Mayor and Aldermen, and many principal persons of the country round about. After the fatigues of a march of so many hundred miles "the army liked their quarters well;" but it was a fatal "Capua." Cromwell, moving vigorously on the line of march he had adopted, was already nearer London than Lesley; so that the Royal army had already lost all the benefit of that bold resolve, which, had they reached the capital before their enemy, might have changed the fortune of the war.

Worcester put into a state of defence: untimely dissension among the King's officers.

Worcester, however, was an advantageous post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom—a goodly city, capable of supplying the army by the noble river Severn from all the adjacent counties, and having the Principality of Wales at its back, from whence levies might be derived of many numbers of stout men. It was a place to which, from its antecedents in the war, the King's friends might repair, if they had the affection to do so, and it was a place which Lesley might render perfectly defensible. The resolution was accordingly now adopted to await Cromwell there, and the time thus obtained was forthwith rendered available for the construction of earthworks upon the hill before the town, and in such places as General Lesley, having

taken a perfect view of the ground, might direct. There was, however, no good understanding between the leaders of the army, which occasioned much matter of mortification to the King. Buckingham represented to His Majesty that no men of consideration in England could serve under Lesley, and, with the presumption of his character, aspired to the chief command himself; and he was offended because the King told him "he would not be fit for such a charge." Lesley himself appeared dispirited and confounded,—gave and revoked orders,—and sometimes contradicted them. Middleton and he did not love each other; and this man was indeed an excellent officer, and headed a great party who had no esteem for Lesley. Such was the unhappy distemper of the Court and army at a season when nothing could preserve the cause but a hearty concurrence in counsels and endeavours. 1651.

Cromwell totally routs the Royalists at Worcester, 3rd Sept.

Cromwell, having united all the forces of Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harrison, amounting to 40,000 men, was now heard of within less than half a day's march from Worcester, and indeed had his head-quarters only two miles from that city. The two armies came into conflict at Olbridge, which Major-General Massey defended for the King. Lambert attacked him, and in the fight Massey received a dangerous wound, which tore his arm and hand in such a manner as to put him *hors de combat* at a time when his activity and energy were most needed. The passage was forced, and a bridge of boats was forthwith laid by the Parliamentarians, which vigorous proceeding filled the King's army with amazement and confusion. Cromwell, whether already advised of the dissensions in the Royal Camp, or from his known contempt of the Scotch army, or from his natural temper, "marched directly on as to a prey." It was on the morning of the 3rd September, the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar, that the passage of the river was effected, in spite of the King's horse and foot, who disputed it with much

1651. courage and resolution: but Fleetwood carried his point. Cromwell himself went at the head of his own regiment, and sent other detachments to scour the hedges which the King's forces had lined with musketeers, who disputed them boldly. On that point where Middleton was, and with whom Duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave resistance; but Hamilton's leg was broken with a shot, Middleton was hurt, and many gentlemen were killed; so that the hedges became ungarnished, the musketeers being forced to retire and shift for themselves. Cromwell therefore pushed on, heedless of further opposition, and marched up the hill and the other entrenched places.

The King's last struggle: his narrow escape: lands in Normandy.

The young King had been up all night to see that every one was at his post, and had returned to his lodging to refresh himself, when the alarm reached him—that both armies were engaged. He presently mounted, and met with the English driving the Scots before them to Porret-bridge. Though he used all the means he could to stop them, and called to many officers by their names, all was of no avail, and he hardly preserved himself from being overrun by them into the city of Worcester. Resolved, however, to have one more push for his crown, he found a good body of horse, about 4000, whom he persuaded to make a stand. The battle was not yet lost—the Parliamentarian horse gave way before his charge. There was David Lesley himself, with all his own; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat possible. His Majesty rode up and down among the men, begging them with his hat in his hand to remain steady about him, saying, "I would rather you would shoot me than keep me alive to see the consequences of this fatal day." But when His Majesty had gone a little way he found most of this body of horse already departed the other way. David Lesley also had disappeared; so that none but a few noblemen and servants remained about the King's

person. The Earl of Cleveland, and some other lords, with a few squadrons, from time to time rallied round him; but the enemy, having possession, opened their own guns upon the Scots, and a rout became general and irretrievable. Though the King could get none to stand or fight, he found too many to fly with him, until at length he found means to disentangle himself from them, and, in company with one or two, he continued his flight until the morning light; his followers then endeavoured to disguise His Majesty, by cutting off his hair and changing his apparel, and he was advised to conceal himself in an adjacent wood. Imagination can scarce conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young King's escape from the fate that attended the most distinguished of those followers who in vain endeavoured to flee from the fatal field of Worcester. But it is no part of the History of the Warriors to relate an episode which may be met with in the pages of Lord Clarendon, "as the author had them from the King himself:" it is enough to relate here, that, after various hairbreadth escapes, and many days of hide and seek upon the very verge of capture, Charles landed safely in Normandy, and did not again try the fortune of war to recover his throne. 1651.

Cromwell's artful management of the Parliament.

The "crowning mercy" of Worcester field placed England and Scotland at Cromwell's feet, and Ireland was sufficiently safe in the hands of Ireton. The only enemy he had left was the factious Parliament, who crouched at his feet, but were ready to clutch his throat if they durst. Within a fortnight of his victory he was again in the midst of them, "in the House." No sooner had the prisoners taken at Worcester been brought to trial, and made examples of justice, than the Lord-General exploded one or two trains to blow up his masters. On the 14th and 18th November it was resolved "that a time should be fixed for the continuance of this Parliament;" and on the

1651. 10th December following a meeting was summoned "at the Speaker's house," when Cromwell proposed, "that, now the King being dead, and his son being defeated, it was necessary to come to a settlement of the nation." The object which Oliver had in view was not to arrive at any conclusion, but to turn men's minds to the subject, and covertly to learn what the opinions of particular persons were. The discussion here was as to the form of Government—whether an absolute republic, or a monarchy. Whitelock was one of whom he somewhat doubted whether, in the point desired, he could mould him into a friend, or keep him out of counsel as an enemy. Whitelock, in the above discussion, adopted "monarchy." A few months later Cromwell chose an opportune moment to raise a conversation with him, the details of which will be found in that statesman's Memoirs. After considerable fencing, in which a great deal of religious "blarney" was sounded, the General turned speedily upon him with the question, "What if a man should take upon him to be a King?" Whitelock boldly denounced the idea. From that time Cromwell's carriage towards him was altered, and he did not, for the future, ask advice of him "so frequent and intimate as before," and at an early opportunity he found an honourable employment for him, in order to send him out of the way; nevertheless Oliver did not for a moment lose sight of his ultimate object; but in many conversations with the leaders of different parties he "fished" to learn their opinions in respect to his ambitious project, and noted carefully all that he thus learned from them individually.

Arrogance of the army, fomented by Cromwell.

On one occasion he was upon the point with some of the Puritan clergy, who told him plainly that the country was against him on this project to the extent of nine in every ten persons. This bold rejoinder threw him off his guard, and he replied, "But if I disarm the nine, and there is a sword in the hand of the tenth—that might affect the result." He soon

saw that his only real support was from the army. The security that had been obtained from their successes was already operating against their interests. It was mooted, that a diminution of army pay to the extent of 1000*l.* a month would now be a just economy. Cromwell openly blew the coal of discontent at this proposition, and renewed the spirit of hatred and contempt of the officers against the Parliament. Petitions, or rather remonstrances, were daily addressed to the House, and they were distinctly desired to surrender their power, and to separate. 1652.

Naval actions with the Dutch, May, 1652—Feb. 1653.

Whilst these things were agitating, a war broke out between the Commonwealth and Holland, and about the beginning of May, 1652, a Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Admiral Tromp, came to anchor in Dover Roads. Blake was immediately appointed to the command of an English fleet, not so numerous; and, it being the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coast of Scotland, he was sent to interrupt their fishing, while Sir George Ayscue with another fleet was sent to the South. All the seas were covered with the English fleets, which made no distinction of seasons, but were as active in winter as in summer, and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. Thus the two fleets were brought into conflict in October, December, and February, when, after the loss of some 2000 men, the Dutch were glad to leave about fifty merchantmen in the hands of the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

Discord between the army and the Parliament: Cromwell resolves to strike a bold blow.

Cromwell regarded this sea war with considerable suspicion. He well discerned that all parties,—friends and foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers,—were united as to the carrying on of the war, notwithstanding the insupportable charge that must inevitably attend it, manifestly with the hope that the excess of expense might make it popular to disband the land army, in order to support the navy, which

1652. now they could not be without. In this perplexity Cromwell resorted to his old remedy—a Council of Officers, who used all importunity in whatsoever had any relation to the army. The sharp answers the Parliament returned from time to time to their addresses gave the army new matter to reply to; and accordingly "the House was desired to remember how many years they had sat, and were told that the most popular action they could perform would be to dissolve themselves, and summon a new Parliament, that the rest of the nation might no longer be utterly excluded from bearing a part in the service of their country." The Parliament replied by preparing an Act for supplying the vacant places, in which it was declared "to be High Treason for any man to propose or contrive the changing of the present Government settled and established." Oliver was tired out of all patience by this weary contest, and had every day long prayers with Lambert and Harrison, and every week private fasts at his house—for Cromwell was always most godly when he intended to do what he could least justify. He determined, therefore, to brook no further delays, but, by what in these days is termed a *coup d'Etat*, to abolish the existing Government, and raise himself by an act of violence to supreme authority.

Cromwell goes down to the House of Parliament, upbraids the members, turns them out, locks the door, and puts the key in his pocket, 20th April.

On the 20th April, 1653, Cromwell assembled in his lodgings at Whitehall a number of officers, including Lambert, Harrison, and others, who were members of the House, and went to the House of Commons, which he entered, placing a file of musketeers at the door. Then, while the House was in Session, he got up in a rage, and bade the Speaker leave the chair, for, he said, "the House had sat long enough unless they had done more good: that the nation could not be otherwise preserved than by their dissolution: that he was resolved to put an end to their chatter, for they were not a Parliament; and it was not fit they should sit there any longer. He therefore desired them to

begone." Then standing up, and walking up and down—with much agitation, he repeated, "You are no Parliament—I say, no Parliament." Upon some of them saying, "that they were then waiting for the Lord," he replied, "they had better go somewhere else, for to his knowledge the Lord had not been there for many years—the Lord had done with them." During this tumult the Speaker sat still, saying, "he would only yield to force." On which Harrison went up to him, and said, "Allow me, Sir, to offer you my arm," and he took him by the collar, and forced him out of the chair. Sir Harry Vane, who was present, with characteristic boldness said loudly, "You are acting illegally, and against all principle." On which Cromwell turned sharply upon him, and exclaimed, "O Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Martyn told him to take advice for his conduct from Scripture, on which Oliver seized him by the cloak, and said, "Thou art a whoremaster." To Wentworth he said, "Thou art a drunkard;" and in the same style he added, "Ye unjust and corrupt men, scandalous Christians, ye have put me upon this;—ye have compelled me to do a thing that makes the very hair of my head to stand on end. I have sought the Lord night and day that he would slay me rather than put me on this work." Then he turned to the soldiers, and pointing to the Mace, said, "Take away that fools' bauble;" which was given to an officer to be safely kept; for even in that moment of excitement he reflected that he might for his own purposes require it again to resuscitate a House of Commons. He then commanded the House to be cleared, and the doors to be locked; when, putting the key in his pocket, he returned to Whitehall, and forthwith published a declaration of the grounds and reasons of this proceeding. Next morning, in the "Mercurius Publicus," the official gazette, it was thus related:—"He having stated the necessity 1653.

1653. for fixing the duration of the Parliament, the Speaker and all the Members forthwith retired[5]."

He disperses the Council of State: creates a new one.

The same afternoon Cromwell repaired to the Council of State, accompanied by Generals Lambert and Harrison at the hour at which they were accustomed to meet for public business, and told them that "if they met there as private persons they should not be disturbed, but if as a Council of State, that was no place for them." He then added that they could not but know what had been done at the House that morning, and that the Parliament was dissolved. Accordingly the Council, finding themselves under military force, departed. Cromwell's declaration, subscribed by his Council of Officers, was acknowledged by the Admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the army. Addresses came to him from Blake and the fleet, and from Monk and the army in Scotland, "showing their concurrence with the Lord-General and his Council of Officers in dissolving the Parliament." Clarendon relates that "there needs no other description of the temper of the nation at that time than the remembering that the dissolution of that body of men who had reigned so long over the three nations was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people;" and, unwarrantable as Oliver Cromwell's conduct must be held to be for the arbitrary act he perpetrated, it must be admitted that he sufficiently understood with whom he had to deal. "Nevertheless, though he found all classes satisfied with his 'Declaration,' yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government than a Council of Officers. A Parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly was likely to be; and the contempt the last was fallen into was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion." He therefore on the 30th created a new Council of State, which was acceptable

[5] The wits stuck upon the door of the chamber, "This House to let unfurnished."

to the Council of Officers:—Lambert, Wolsey, Tomkinson, Harrison, and Hewson from among the military, and Ashley Cooper and Thurlow were named, as civilians, until persons of recognized probity and faithfulness could be collected from the ends of the kingdom, so as to constitute, with the Lord-General, the supreme authority in the State. 1653.

Having thus dropped a hint of another Parliament, Cromwell summoned persons out of every county—in all 140 persons—to meet at the Council Chamber at Whitehall. "He resolved to choose them himself, that he might with more justice unmake them if he should think fit." He therefore "wrote letters in his own name, and sealed them with his own seal," with an assumption of form like usurpers of every age and country. The letters addressed to individuals ran in this form:— Cromwell calls a new Parliament: his letters to individuals.

"Sir, In the assurance of your love and zeal for God and for the interest of the Republic, I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of all the forces of the State now and to come, invite and require you, as one of the persons nominated to me, to repair to the Council Chamber at Whitehall, in the city of Westminster, on the 4th of July next, to receive your writ as member for ——— and herein fail not.

"Given under my hand and seal, &c.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

There were amongst those thus addressed some few persons of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had estates of their own; but the larger portion were inferior persons of no quality or name,—the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant citizens, and the very dregs of fanaticism, known principally for their gifts of praying and preaching, as "Fifth Monarchy men." Among the rest one from whom the Parliament was afterwards denominated, a leather-seller of Fleet Street, recognized as the most active member and principal The members of Cromwell's Parliament resign their functions, 12th Dec.

1653. speaker, bore the name of Praise-God-Barebones. On the 4th July, when they were assembled, Oliver made them a speech, standing in the midst of his Council, showing the cause of their summons, and that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the Commonwealth, which he proved by several texts of Scripture. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity for near six months, to the amazement, and even mirth of the people; in which time they never entered upon any grave and serious debate that might tend to any settlement, but generally, according to the practice of all democrats, expressed great sharpness and animosity against persons of learning and condition. After they had tired and perplexed themselves in such discussions until the 12th December, one stood up before the larger portion was assembled, and declared "that he did not believe they were equal to the burthen imposed upon them, and therefore proposed that they might re-deliver their authority to him from whom they had received it." Two others followed in the same strain, freely abusing the proceedings of their own body, and ending with their readiness to resign their functions One Rous, who was their Speaker, and who had been prompted secretly in the matter, at once quitted the chair, and, followed by about eighty members, repaired to Cromwell, having the Mace properly and orderly carried before him, and re-delivered to the Lord-General by a formal act the power entrusted to them.

Declaration of Cromwell and his Council: Clarendon's reflections on the Lord Protector's extraordinary rise and influence.

By this frank donation Oliver and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the State. After three days of prayers, during which ample precautions were taken, they boldly declared:—

"That the Government of the Commonwealth should reside in a single person, and that Oliver Cromwell should be that person, with the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging."

By another declaration several persons therein named were constituted the Protector's Council, to be assistant to him in the Government, whose orders were to have the power of an Act of Parliament. Cromwell was on the day following invested formally with the chief instruments of supreme power in the Court of Chancery; the Lord Mayor of London, in returning from this solemnity in Westminster Hall, carrying, bareheaded, the sword before him to Whitehall. 1654.

"And in this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and even against the desires, of all noble persons and men of quality, mounted himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of King, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exercised or claimed by any King, and received greater evidence and manifestations of respect and esteem from all the Kings and Princes in Christendom than had ever been showed to any monarch of these nations, and which was so much the more notorious in that they all abhorred him when they trembled at his power and courted his friendship[6]."

Cromwell makes peace with the Dutch and French, and stipulates that the Stuarts shall quit France.

In the beginning of 1654 already several Foreign Ministers came over to congratulate the Lord Protector, and gave him the title of Highness. The first thing he did in foreign policy, was to make a peace with the Dutch, to the great joy of both nations. The French Ambassador acknowledged him, and concluded a peace with him, one article of which was, "That none of the Royal House of Stuart should live in France." Accordingly the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester were forced to quit that kingdom, and to seek an asylum in the Spanish dominions. Indeed his manner of maintaining the honour of the nation in foreign parts gratified the English temper, for he

[6] Clarendon.

1654. insisted that his ambassadors should have all the distinctions paid them that had been ever paid to those of the King, saying, with much truth, "that the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the King was only the representative head; and therefore, the nation being still the same, he would have the same respect paid to its representatives." Lockart, who became the Protector's ambassador at Paris, said that when he was there afterwards in the same capacity for Charles II., he found nothing of that regard shown him at the French capital that had been paid him in Cromwell's time. At this time, likewise, Italy trembled at the power of England, insomuch that, when Blake sailed into the Mediterranean, Rome got so alarmed that public processions were made, and the Host was exposed forty times, to avert the wrath of Heaven; for the Protector had declared that, if necessary, his ships should enter Civita Vecchia, and their cannon be heard in the Vatican.

Cromwell's capacity for affairs: the Presbyterians and Independents: the Fifth Monarchy Men: the "Levellers."

At home Cromwell had peculiar difficulties to contend with; but he dealt with them with the same firm hand and wise counsel. The Council of Officers in the army were kept back in respect and awe. On the proclamation of the Protectorate, when Lambert read the Instrument of State, some present contended against its novelty; but they were roughly told that their opinion was not asked upon the form of Government, which was a thing already settled. On a future occasion, when it was discussed whether the rank of General was compatible with that of Civil Governor, and whether such dignities might not descend together in the Protector's family, Lambert told the meeting that the General took upon him the whole burthen of civil affairs, and desired that they would henceforth return to their regiments and occupy themselves with their military duties. At the same time Oliver placed a few of the most influential in the Council of State, and gave them 1000*l.* a year for their charges. The Inde-

pendents, who were for the most part of the soldiery, considered themselves of the Protector's party, and followed him with blind obedience. But the Fifth Monarchy Men, who were fanatical Republicans, had kept away since the dissolution of the Parliament, and occupied themselves partly in theories of Civil Liberty, and partly in the deep study of abstract Deism. They were nevertheless very troublesome to Cromwell, for they felt that he had used their fanaticism for his own purposes. Nevertheless he still humoured them, and prayed with them, and talked with them, and shed tears with them. But the "Levellers" were not to be played with, so that he caused many of them to be arrested, and turned against them the whole rigour of the law. The Presbyterians, who in their politics were more moderate men, he found more disposed to rally round him now that he was in a position to maintain order and tranquillity. He therefore contented himself with giving them as an occupation the task of Ecclesiastical Government. 1654.

Cromwell's treatment of the Royalists: his promotion of upright lawyers: Sir M. Hale.

The Royalists he knew must be, as a party, wholly irreconcilable, and accordingly he kept a very close watch upon them, and introduced spies into their families in order to learn their secret machinations. With considerable address, mingled with corruption, he gave them to understand that the lives of the Royal Family were not far removed out of his power, and should be a gage for their fealty to his rule. He at the same time, in order to convince these adversaries of his desire to be impartial, filled the Courts of Westminster Hall with the most able and upright Judges, placing at their head Sir Matthew Hale, who had offered himself to defend the King, and had actually pleaded for Hamilton, Capel, and many convicted men of the King's party. He also outvied the best of previous English monarchs in rendering the code and practice of the law in the vernacular, directing the best lawyers of the day to be employed in correcting the

1655. practice of the profession, and in causing the pleadings to be always rendered in English. Again, in Colonial matters he evinced the utmost moderation, and he allowed liberty of conscience without the least impediment to all sects of religion.

His management of the stirring military spirits of the time.

Having now arrived at the highest pinnacle of the State, Cromwell dreaded, like others who have raised themselves from the military ranks to the supreme elevation of civil power, lest some of his own men of war would turn against himself the same boldness of ambition which had served him for his rise, and that they would employ the same means that he had used unless he could open some new field for their activity. He therefore resolved to break on some pretence or other with some foreign Power whence riches might be acquired. Some of the preachers of note had already recommended from their pulpits "that he would go and sack Babylon,"—meaning Rome, figuring the scarlet whore, bedizened with all the wealth of superstition and corruption, as a proper prize. Without, however, acceding to such recommendations, and maintaining well his secret, he made preparations to fit out a strong squadron, with a considerable expedition of land forces, the command of which was given to Admiral Penrose and General Venables; and the Protector gave this joint armament the benefit of his own judgment, and seemed manifestly to have it much at heart: but notwithstanding that many tried to penetrate the secret of its whereabout, the close and wary chief only said "that he would send forth an expedition to guard the seas, and restore England to her just right and dominion over that element."

Appoints Major-Generals over the counties.

In October, 1655, Cromwell provided for the greater tranquillity at home by the appointment of Major-Generals over all the counties, with more power over them than had ever been enjoyed by the Lords-Lieutenant. These Generals had a central office in London, reporting directly to himself. Their principal duties

were, to repair the finances by obliging delinquents to pay in their fines for their old loyalty, and to influence elections of Parliament men. But in a short time he saw that these many tyrants were more obnoxious to the nation than any amount of his own single power, and he accordingly revoked their commissions. 1657.

His foreign expeditions bore glorious fruit. Blake, in the Mediterranean, destroyed two Spanish fleets, humbled the Corsairs of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, and sent home three millions of broad pieces: while Penrose and Venables took the rich island of Jamaica, which has ever since been a valuable possession of the British Crown. Cromwell sent over an army of 6000 men to Flanders in 1657 to assist Turenne at Dunkirk, which, by his treaty with France, was to be put into his hands. But the wily Cardinal, Mazarin, had delayed the fulfilment of this promise so long as to make Cromwell doubt his sincerity. He therefore sent for the French Ambassador, and desired he would despatch an express immediately, to let the Cardinal understand that he would not be imposed upon, and that if he did not deliver to his army the keys of the port of Dunkirk within an hour after it should be taken, he would come in person and demand them at the gate of Paris. Mazarin stood so much in awe of Cromwell that it was a common saying in France, "that he was not so much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell."

Naval achievements of Blake, Penrose, and Venables: Cromwell sends aid to Turenne at the siege of Dunkirk, 1657: threat to Mazarin.

It is acknowledged by French historians that the glory of acquiring Dunkirk was mainly owing to their English auxiliaries; and the place was immediately put into the hands of the English. Cardinal Mazarin hastened to assure the much-dreaded Cromwell that his desire had been fulfilled, and sent over the Duc de Crequi and his nephew Mancini in a solemn embassy to the Lord Protector. The latter was charged with a private letter, assuring His Highness that nothing but the indisposition of his Sovereign, which detained him at Paris, would have hindered him from coming him-

Mazarin sends a special embassy to Cromwell, with rich presents.

1658. self in person "to enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greatest men that ever lived;" and he added, "Privé de cet honneur, j'envoie la personne qui me touche de plus près par les liens du sang pour exprimer à Votre Altesse toute la vénération qui j'ai pour sa personne, et combien je suis résolu d'entretenir entre elle et le Roi mon maître une perpétuelle amitié." The Duc de Crequi was the bearer of a sword of honour sent to Cromwell by the King; and Mancini brought a rich piece of Gobelin Tapestry as a not less precious present. The embassy was received with all the extraordinary pomp of the best days of Royalty, and the Duc de Crequi remained six days in London, returning laden with honours and presents.

Cromwell's secret anxieties.

Nevertheless the Protector, at the height of this prosperity, was neither happy at home, nor without serious disquietude in public affairs. His wars and his intrigues consumed immense sums of money. He had increased the taxes to the extent of two millions; and, although his fleets had gained much glory and treasure, commerce had seriously suffered: in the four years of hostilities 1200 English ships had been captured by the Spanish cruisers. These losses, and the Government debts, were evils which it was beyond the limited understanding of the statesmen of the time to estimate or to remedy. Yet it was absolutely necessary for Cromwell to keep regularly paid the army which upheld him, and on which all his power in the capital depended. He had no sure support but this factious body, which had tasked all his artifice to maintain it in good humour. His arts of dissimulation had become utterly exhausted, the whole nation had detected them, so that they had ceased to impose upon any one.

Anecdote of the Protector and Fairfax.

An anecdote is recorded of the last attempt that Cromwell made to act with his accustomed influence upon the mind of his old comrade, Fairfax. The General had demanded an interview of the Protector, to intercede

for his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham. Oliver received him with all the affected raillery of the days of the camp, and appealed to him to return to their ancient friendship, and to cease to listen to those who envied all their common glory. But the appeal was lost upon the veteran, who was somewhat ashamed of the part he had played under the superior influence of one who, from having served under his command, now stood before him as a master whom he approached as a solicitor for a favour. He did not, however, quail before his superior, but boldly defended the cause of Royalty, and of attachment to the Royal Family, which he avowed to be his new principles. 1658.

Not only, then, did Cromwell find himself at this time deserted by his former associates, but was in such constant apprehension of violence from the many enemies that surrounded him, that, though he had so often openly exposed his life on the battle-field, he now wore a cuirass within his clothes, and carried pistols and daggers about his person. He never occupied the same chamber for two nights together, and, though always accompanied by a considerable escort, altered his published route as if to disconcert some conspiracy, or to avoid the blow of some assassin. Cromwell's apprehensions respecting his personal safety: his death, 3rd Sept.

His health had for some time failed under these many anxieties, so that when his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Claypole, expired at Hampton Court on the 7th August, within a month of his acquisition of Dunkirk, he was so much concerned for her loss, that he was attacked by a dangerous fever on the 26th, and was removed by his medical attendants to Whitehall, where he expired on Friday, the 3rd September, 1658 —the anniversary of his triumphs at Dunbar and Worcester.

Thus, after all his toil and troubles, Oliver Cromwell went to his grave in peace, and in greater state than had accompanied the funeral of any King in England. His body was removed to Somerset House, where it His funeral obsequies.

1658. lay in state for ten weeks. From thence it was conveyed to Westminster Abbey on the 23rd November, attended by the great Officers of State, and the Foreign Ministers, the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and a prodigious crowd of officers of the army and navy; and his remains were deposited in Henry VII.'s Chapel among those of former Princes and rulers under a stately mausoleum. The public grief was unexampled: never had any Sovereign so many fervent and sincere prayers made in his behalf during his illness by all classes of his subjects.

His character.

"Oliver Cromwell was one of those men whom his very enemies would not condemn without commending him at the same time." As an Officer and a Politician he was a very great character; and, having outlived the great and many prejudices attendant upon his career, his statue has been at length admitted to take its place in the Royal Palace at Westminster as of one who stood in the line of British Monarchs. In most revolutions it may be seen that successive leaders arise, who in the course of them are obliged to give place to others more advanced in their interests; but Oliver Cromwell was first and last,—"if not the first, in the very first line" of those who directed the storm, and the last to ride it. He assisted at its birth, and mastered the Hydra to which he had lent existence. By arms and by words he overcame it and reduced it to his own absolute power. He became by turns Theologian, Captain, Politician, Legislator, Sovereign, in all which characters he acted with an unflinching spirit, an intrepid resolution, and a rare prudence. But the peculiar characteristic of the man was his boldness, "*Audacia, audacia, audacia,*" —boldness in the conceptions of his mind, boldness in action, boldness as well in the field before the foe as in council with enemies yet more bitter and more unrelenting. He had a daring, and, perhaps, overbearing carriage in all matters, whether military or civil; but it was never blindly or inconsiderately hazarded. He forecast the issue, and rarely dealt

his most vigorous blows without due forethought and calculation. He had on every side many unruly spirits, whom he rightly judged to be as ready to supersede him as to obey him. Some of these he opposed with the strong arm, and others with the strong voice. Some he crushed, some he cajoled, all he deceived. But, with a truly military characteristic, he never entered into any contest with bodies of men, or with individuals, without a reserve upon whom he could safely rely. He never embarked in a dispute altogether isolated; if the rapid glance of his eye did not assure him of support, he curbed his resolution for the present, and with astonishing patience bided his time.

His enterprising spirit: his capacity for government: his character penned by Clarendon.

Cromwell never took the field again after the action at Worcester; but he governed England as he had governed his army, either by his Major-Generals or by civilians alike subordinated to his supreme authority. He thus parcelled out the people into many subdivisions on the rule of "Divide et impera," all under creatures of his own, with the same unlimited authority in their districts as he had himself so arbitrarily assumed[7]. His native activity of disposition, and avidity for glory, rendered him incapable of repose, even after he had "reached the haven where he would be." His bold and restless spirit led him to look abroad for enterprise; and he judged that the extreme lassitude of Spain under its vast, unwieldy empire, opened the easiest way to the vigorous courage and naval prowess of England, by which he hoped to render the dominion he had acquired over his country more illustrious than it had been under its Kings. Clarendon concludes the character he had given of Cromwell with this sentence,—"In a word, as he had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused

[7] Hume.

the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man."

His personal appearance and habits.

Oliver Cromwell was of an ungainly, unwieldy figure, and coarse-featured,—a sloven in his dress and carriage, and of vulgar habits. He would drink freely of malt liquor or any coarse beverage, yet never to excess. Sometimes he would assume an air of stately severity towards those around him; and sometimes he would start into buffoonery. He had a quality in his mirth which was especially useful to him,—he readily discerned the temper of those with whom he thus dealt: for example, in dealing with private soldiers, he took pains to learn their names, and took care to call the men by them, shaking hands with them, slapping them on the shoulder, or giving them a slight box on the ear [8].

His military genius and characteristics.

All British historians, and most foreign writers of the same class, pass over those military characteristics of Oliver Cromwell, which are the more immediate "purview" of these biographies. There never was in any army an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or who more ardently thirsted for glory. He had also many talents for war. He saw at the very first start the essential importance of discipline; and it was by the rapid exercise of this quality that he obtained his earliest successes, as has been recorded in this Life, as well as in that of Prince Rupert, who disregarded its practice, and thought to succeed without it by mere dash—a fatal mistake. Cromwell had likewise considerable military skill in timing conjoint ope-

[8] Napoleon had some of these "endearments"—especially that of dealing with the ear. The late King of the Belgians informed me that when the great conqueror, at the height of his glory, sent for him—then about eighteen or nineteen years of age—with the desire of inducing him to take service in the French army, he finished his audience by taking him by the ear, and gently pinching it, saying, "Adieu, vous êtes un bon beau garçon."

rations, as may be observed in his preparations for the battles of Worcester and Dunbar, in which latter action may be observed a germ of real strategy. He required little sleep, and was never tired—a natural gift that many great warriors have found as sure a road to fame as the best-digested campaign. With a resolution and energy that overlooked all dangers and saw no difficulties, he could extort a following and attain the end proposed. Hume has observed that, "An army is so forcible and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation or attain any ascendant in human society [9]."

Oliver Cromwell received during his sovereignty loftier hymns of praise than often fall to the lot of Legitimate Monarchy. Milton, sincere in his Republicanism, although he had no ambition to be a Court Laureate, and no disposition to flatter the Lord Protector, yet in 1652, when Oliver had attained to a high reputation, thus addresses him "in immortal verse:"—

TO THE LORD GENERAL.

"Cromwell! our chief of men, who through a cloud
* * * * * *
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resound thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than War."

MILTON.

[9] Clarendon; "Histoire de Cromwell," par Villemain; Hooper's History; "Lives, English and Foreign;" "Memoirs of the Protector," by Oliver Cromwell; Biographical Dictionaries, *passim*.

The "Poet" Edmund Waller also repaid the Protector for his favours in 1654 by the famous "Panegyric," which has been considered the first of his poems.

TO THE LORD PROTECTOR.

"While with a strong and yet a gentle hand
You bridle faction and our hearts command,
Protect us from ourselves and from the foe,
Make us unite and make us conquer too;

Heav'n, that hath placed this island to give law,
To balance Europe and her States to awe,
In this conjunction doth on Britain smile—
The greatest leader and the greatest isle.

Hither the oppressed shall henceforth resort
Justice to crave and succour at your court;
And then Your Highness, not for ours alone,
But for the World's Protector shall be known.

With such a chief the meanest nation blest
Might hope to lift her head above the rest.
What may be thought impossible to do
By us, environ'd by the sea and you?

Our little world, the image of the great,
Like that amidst the boundless ocean set,
Of her own growth hath all that Nature craves,
And all that's rare as tribute from the waves.

Your never-failing sword made war to cease,
And now you heal us with the arts of peace;
Our minds with bounty and with awe engage,
Invite affection and restrain our rage.

Illustrious acts high raptures do infuse,
And every Conqueror creates a Muse.
Here in low strains your milder deeds we sing,
But these, my Lord, will bays and olive bring

To crown your head, while you in triumph ride
O'er vanquished nations and the sea beside,
While all your neighbour princes unto you,
Like Joseph's sheaves, pay reverence and bow."

WALLER.

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS.

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

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APPENDIX.

THE HUGUENOT CIVIL WAR.

1627—1629.

In a work relating to the Civil Wars of France it would perhaps be inexcusable to exclude all notice of the conclusion of the great Huguenot war, 1627—1629, which had raged in France, more or less, upwards of half a century; yet there was no leader on either side who had a sufficient charge in the direction of it to be deemed "a Warrior." Cardinal Richelieu was the great directing hand on the one side, and the Protestants, a scattered but zealous party, yielded their blood and treasure in resisting their opponents.

Early in the scene, from mixed motives into which it is not necessary to enter, the famous Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, at the head of an expedition of 16,000 men, appeared off the Île de Rhé on the 20th July, 1627, to assist the Rochellois in their resistance to their sovereign. He sat down at his disembarcation before the Fort de la Prée, which was defended four days by the Count de Thorias, and this afforded time for Louis XIII. to come down in person on the 12th October. Within the works of La Rochelle the Duchesse Dowager of Rohan kept up the spirit of the inhabitants in their revolt, mainly assisted by one Guiton, the

1628. Mayor, a violent man, who declared his resolution to stab the first man who spoke of surrender, and, suiting his action to his word, he placed a poniard openly on the table of the Hôtel de Ville. The Duc de Soubise, younger son of the Duchess, was on board the English fleet, and the Duc de Rohan, at the head of a Huguenot force counting about 5500 horse and foot, had taken the field in Languedoc on the 11th September, after having issued a Declaration avowing that he had invited the aid of the King of England, because the King of France had not kept faith with his Protestant subjects. The vainglorious Buckingham, however, took such alarm at the preparations making against him, that, failing in an assault of the Fort de la Prée on the 6th November, he ordered his troops back to their boats; but they were encountered in their retreat by the French cavalry, who charged and routed them, so that they got re-embarked with difficulty, leaving four guns and many prisoners behind them. Buckingham at once abandoned the Rochellois to the vengeance of their King, and sailed away for England.

On the departure of the English, the Cardinal, on the 16th November, ordered La Rochelle to be vigorously besieged; and the unfortunate inhabitants, deprived of their allies, saw with terror the arrival of a strong reinforcement against them of eighteen Spanish ships of war, sent by Philip IV. in defence of the Catholic Faith. These last, however, were alarmed by the rumour of another English fleet, and hastily departed from the road on the 28th January, 1628. The expected fleet did, in fact, cast anchor before the Île de Rhé on the 11th May, and consisted of thirty ships under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law of Buckingham. But the same inconstancy continued to attend the temporizing aid of the English; for, after filling the Rochellois with joy by their coming, they excited proportionate despair by suddenly sailing away for England on the 18th May, after a few

days' cannonade of the Cardinal's siege works. A casualty which was quite expected came to the aid of the besieged. Richelieu was called away by an affair of State, and sent in to offer terms of surrender; the people, driven to their last ounce of provision and wearied with their misery, would have readily accepted those terms, but for the poniard of the Mayor Guiton, which still glittered on the table of the Hôtel de Ville. Some escaped from their abodes, but were afterwards taken and hung. The Duchesse de Rohan solicited the King's permission to quit the place, but was refused. Gangs of soldiers armed with whips were placed at all the gates of the city, and whipped back all who attempted to escape. 1628.

In the mean time Rohan kept the field in Languedoc, faintly opposed by the old Prince de Condé for the King. With a piece of good luck he saved his fortress of Montpelier, and had also taken and destroyed the force sent for its capture, when he received intelligence that the Parliament of Thoulouse, by the intrigues of the Cardinal, had passed a decree declaring him a traitor, and ordering him to be executed, drawn, and quartered. Unmoved by this idle insult, Rohan carried himself like an able General, and passed through the land, sending an imploring message to Charles I. to hasten the promised aid of a fleet, which had been detained at Portsmouth by the murder of Buckingham on the 23rd August. On the 28th September an English fleet appeared in sight of Rochelle for the third time. It was now under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, and counted 120 sail, having 6000 soldiers on board, together with bodies of French refugees under the command of the Duc de Soubise, the Count de Laval, and others. The siege-works of the French had now been advanced almost to completion, and were of the most formidable character, and well garnished with guns. Lindsey reconnoitred them on the 29th, and recognized their insurmountable character. He opened

1628. fire upon them forthwith, and on the 30th launched some new-fashioned fireships loaded with 12,000 lbs. of gunpowder, which it was hoped would have destroyed the works built upon the shore; but this hope was destroyed by its harmless explosion in the middle of the bay. The fleet nevertheless ran in as close as the water permitted, and bombarded the trenches for three hours; 5000 shots were said to have been expended in this operation, but it was reported that not more than twenty-eight men were struck down by them. Lindsey continued the bombardment for a day or two; but, seeing the impossibility of forcing his way into the port, he withdrew to sea, notwithstanding the energetic appeals of Soubise and Laval to allow the troops and the French refugees to land and make a combined attempt for the relief of the town. Lindsey turned a deaf ear to the appeal, and remained in the roads without any further proceeding.

The King and Richelieu returned again to the camp, and Lindsey sent to them N. Montagu, a diplomatist who had been well known to the French Court. He proposed terms of peace between France and England, with whom the Huguenot party should be comprised; and, finding the Cardinal willing to entertain his proposals, he was despatched with them to England. But the miserable Rochellois could neither endure the delays of diplomacy nor even await the return of the negotiator. The royal dungeons were full of wretches dying of thirst and devoured by flies, and the King found it an amusement suited to his cold pitiless character to go and witness their sufferings! One day when the Count de Rocheguyon beheld his presence, he exclaimed, "Your Majesty will shortly have the gratification of seeing my agonies—Je commencerai bientôt mes grimaces." On the 29th October a deputation was received by the King to implore pardon and pity, and Richelieu wrote with his hand the Royal conditions, which were not after all very onerous:—"Life and pro-

perty, with the pardon of their crimes and the enjoyment of their religion, shall be accorded." Then the King acceded, adding to a severe rebuke that he addressed to them, "que s'ils lui étoient fidèles sujets il leur seroit bon Prince." The following day La Rochelle was given up, and Louis returned to Paris. 1628.

The Duc de Rohan was now in danger of having the whole of the King's power brought down for his destruction; and in this embarrassment, since he could no longer rely on English support, he sent his agent Clauzel to Spain, who made a treaty with Philip IV. by which he engaged to bring the aid of 14,000 men to keep alive the civil war, as a favourable diversion in the war of Spain against France. It was a treasonable act in Rohan, and it was an unworthy resource which the Protestants were reduced to accept. Nevertheless these latter, divided among themselves, and having more regard to their personal interests than their religious principles, acted rather like a badly-organized federation of republics than a well-regulated party. Richelieu organized a new campaign in 1629, which was directed against these detached communities which the Maréchal D'Estrées and the Duc de Montmorency were directed to subvert and utterly destroy. The King and Cardinal encamped the while. The blow first fell on 28th May on Privas, where André Montbrun commanded; he offered to capitulate, but the King demanded a surrender at discretion, when the explosion of a powder magazine opened the gate, and the inhabitants were given over to the fury of the conqueror. The place was burnt to the ground, and the entire property of the inhabitants was confiscated. The Royal army next approached Nismes, which sent an urgent appeal to Rohan to come to its assistance, who, seeing his own inability to resist the King's army, sent a proposition of peace to the Cardinal, who replied that the demolition of the fortifications of every Protestant town was the sole base

1629. on which the King would treat. The Duc at length persuaded his Reformed brethren that there was now no other course left them; so that on the 28th June a peace was concluded at Alais. The conditions were the same as those granted to the Rochellois, and they were required in addition to lay down their arms, raze their walls, and take the oath of fidelity to the King. The Ducs of Rohan and Soubise and the armed towns of Languedoc submitted, and were pardoned on these conditions [10].

The Duc de Rohan is recognized as an able General by all French historians, and he was subsequently employed by the King, and was mortally wounded at the battle of the Rhinfeld, 1638, when serving *en grenadier* under Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar. Voltaire wrote upon him this epitaph:—

"Avec tous les talents le ciel l'avait fait naître
Il agit en héros, en sage il écrivit;
Il fut même un grand homme en combattant son maître,
Et plus grand lorsqu'il le servit."

ROBERT BERTIE, EARL OF LINDSEY,

A ROYALIST GENERAL.

Born 1582—Died 1642.

His ancestry: singular incident attending his birth.

1582. THIS "brave officer and generous subject" was of an ancient lineage, that became ennobled by the marriage of a predecessor in the time of Henry VIII. with the widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who was

[10] Sismondi; "Biographie Universelle."

in her own right Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby. A romantic incident attended the birth of the Earl's father, which in some degree coloured the youth of our hero. The widow lady had tasted the forbidden waters of the Scriptures; and when Bloody Queen Mary entered on her persecution of the Protestants, Mr. Bertie and his wife found it necessary to make a precipitate escape to the Continent, and they were exposed to the severest hardships during their compulsory travels. At Wesel Mrs. Bertie was compelled to stop, "because her time was come," and in their inability to procure a hired lodging she "brought forth her son" in the church porch of the Hanse Town. This child being thus born an exile and a foreigner received the name of Peregrinus in consequence; and this name has been continued through successive generations of the house of Bertie to this time. The father of the subject of this memoir served with much distinction in the army of Queen Elizabeth, and, having married the daughter and heir of Vere, Earl of Oxford, Robert Bertie succeeded to the title of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby from his grandmother, inherited the office of Lord Chamberlain of England from his mother, and was himself created by Charles the First, in 1626, Earl of Lindsey. 1582.

"He spent his youth and the vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad" under Sigismund III., King of Poland, whose father, Sigismund II., had hospitably received Robert Bertie in his dominions during the distress of his parents and had maintained them in security and ease; so that having here obtained some military reputation as a commander, the Earl of Lindsey was entrusted by his own Sovereign with the command of the fleet for the relief of Rochelle on the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham in 1628. We next hear of him in 1642, at York with Charles the First, when, being here upon the place, he subscribed with other Lords and Counsellors, out of duty to the truth, the Declaration of his

His early military training: his claims postponed to those of Rupert through the infatuation of the King: battle of Edge-hill.

1642. belief that His Majesty "had no other intention at that time than tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant religion; the just privilege of Parliament; the liberty of the subject; the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom." He accompanied the King's Court to Beverley (in the affair of the Hothams), where Charles constituted the Earl of Lindsey General of the trained bands. This was however very much to his annoyance, for he was made to appear in this character without any army, in order to engage in an enterprise which he could not imagine would succeed. His Majesty nevertheless ordered him to send out some officers, of whom it appeared there "was a good store" about the Court, to make a recognizance as to the most advantageous ground on which to place a battery against the walls of Hull. The Earl found it no hard matter to take a full view of the town, and he and his officers rode up to the very walls without impediment, but he knew that such troops as trained bands could never be relied upon to make an attack. In the end the King himself gave up all idea of besieging Hull, and, dismissing the train bands at York, moved from thence to Nottingham, where I apprehend the Earl of Lindsey was present at the raising of the Standard, August 25, 1642. He remained with the King while the Parliament army was being assembled, doing all in his power and influence to get together the Royal army, which were drawn up under the Earl's command on Edgehill to the number of 10,000 foot and 3000 or 4000 horse. But the infatuated Monarch, under an impression which may be found constantly attaching to Royalty—that no one is able to serve them better than their own quality of blood—with or without experience or talent in the matter, had placed all his hopes on his nephew Prince Rupert, who had been under fire once or twice in Germany; and he accordingly now issued out a commission by which the

young man was to be placed and obeyed above the General; so that when the Earl of Lindsey acquainted the Prince with the intended disposition of the army for a battle, that arrogant youth expressed his disapproval of the plan, and Charles supported his views against the veteran General. With a grieved heart the noble-minded Lindsey quitted his Sovereign's presence, but could not conceal his resentment. He said to friends in his confidence, "that he no longer looked upon himself as General, and therefore was resolved that in the battle he would be at the head of his regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die." Thus then it was that when the whole army was ordered to draw to a rendezvous on the top of Edge-hill, the cavalry and infantry were respectively at so great a distance from each other that many of the latter had to march a distance of seven or eight miles. At length something of a line being formed, the Earl descended from his horse at the head of his own regiment of foot, his son, the Lord Willoughby, being next to him with the King's regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard. Prince Rupert with the cavalry advanced at once to charge the left wing of the enemy, and led the chase two miles off the field, leaving the centre of the Royal army exposed to the reserve of the Parliament horse, who broke in upon them under Sir William Balfour, while the powerful brigades of Essex's foot carried death and destruction into the main body of the Royal army—Sir Edward Verney, who bore the Standard, was killed, and Lord Lindsey was shot in the thigh, which brought him to the ground, where he was presently encompassed by the enemy: Lord Willoughby, piously endeavouring the rescue of his father, was taken prisoner with him. The Earl was carried off the field to the nearest village, where, although the Earl of Essex sent his own surgeon to attend upon him, in the very opening of the wound he died before morning from the loss of blood. 1642.

1642 — Clarendon speaks of the Earl of Lindsey as "a man of great honour, of a most generous nature, punctual in what he undertook, in executing what was due to him, which made him bear that restriction so heavily which was put upon him by the Commission granted to Prince Rupert, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion in all matters relating to the war before his." He had very many friends and very few enemies, and died generally lamented[1]. Two of the eight sons he left behind him also fell in the King's service before the war was brought to a close.

ALEXANDER LESLIE, EARL OF LEVEN,

SWEDISH FELT-MARSHAL, AND GENERAL OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS' ARMY.

His ancestry: serves under Gustavus Adolphus: returns to Scotland.

SOME doubt has been entertained whether the Earl of Leven was "ane gentleman of base birth" (Spalding), or whether he was descended from a common ancestor of the Earl of Rothes. George Leslie of Balghain was fourth son of Sir Andrew Leslie of Rothes; and Alexander Leslie Earl of Leven is said to have been seventh in descent from the common ancestor. He was born in Balvany; but the year of his birth is not stated, nor is any thing recorded of his youth. He is first heard of with a considerable body of Scotch adventurers who in their Protestant zeal took part in the Thirty Years' War, and were trained to arms under the

[1] Clarendon.

great Gustavus Adolphus, who, when he landed on the shores of the Baltic at Stralsund, was there joined by about 7000 men of all countries, but principally Scots, who were commanded by Alexander Leslie. We hear of his being sent, when Governor of Stralsund for that King, to receive the English troops when they landed at Bremen under the Marquis of Hamilton, and to arrange for them a due supply of provisions, bread and beer. Leslie, with his Scottish men, afterwards rendered himself master of the Castle of Lignitz, of which the King made him a present for a country villa. He obtained such a character in the Swedish armies that he was entitled "Scotiani Fœderis supremus Dux." At the death of the Swedish monarch, Leslie, with many others of his countrymen, became disgusted with the service in Germany, and returned to Scotland with the rank of Felt-Marshal, and with honour and wealth in such abundance that he settled near to the estates of the head of his family, and purchased "fair lands" in Fife. 1640.

Is appointed to the command of the army of the Covenanters: encounter with the Earl of Holland: treaty of Ripon, 1640.

The name and reputation he had gained under "The Lion of the North" was such, that he was popularly spoken of as "His Excellence," and "inferior to none but to the King of Sweden;" so that in 1639 the Covenanters, when they first raised an army in the support of the solemn League and Covenant, entrusted it to "the experience and eminent command of Alexander Leslie." The Royal army was encamped in August, 1640, upon an open field called the Berkes, on the further side of Berwick, under the King in person, who sent forward the Earl of Holland with a body of 3000 horse and 2000 foot, with a fit train of artillery, to look out for this strange Covenant-man, who had marched as far as Dundee—ten or twelve miles across the frontier—and here the Felt-Marshal, and 3000 men, "very ill-armed and most country fellows," were placed on a hill so speciously that they had the appearance of a good body of troops. The Earl of Holland was a man of

1640. courage—not at all suspected of corruption, and of unquestioned military knowledge. Nevertheless, deceived by the appearance of the enemy's force, and seeing great herds of cattle at a distance upon the hills on either side, he hastily concluded that this was further support of an enemy in too great force, and withdrew his whole army without daring the most trifling onslaught, returning to the camp where the King was, to report the fact. The Covenanter General, who understood mankind sufficiently to be very reasonably exalted with this first success and with the impression he perceived that he had made upon his opponent, wrote a letter to the Earl of Holland, desiring him to use his credit with the King, that a treaty might be entered into; and a treaty was presently entered upon and concluded[1] at Ripon.

Is created Earl of Leven by Charles I.

In 1641 the armies of both sides were disbanded. "The Earl of Holland, in great pomp, returned to his house at Kensington;" and the King, going to Scotland for the better preserving a good correspondence between the two kingdoms, and to see all things performed that were to be done by the Parliament of Scotland, was pleased while at Edinburgh to create the two most notable Covenanters, Argyle to be a Marquis, and their great General Leslie Earl of Leven. It is said by Clarendon that "in return for these ex-

[1] We find in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" this song, called Leslie's March:—

"March! march!
Why the devil do ye na march?
Stand to your arms, my lads,
Fight in good order:
Front about ye musketeers all,
Till ye come to the English Border;
Stand till't, and fight like men,
True Gospel to maintain,
Busk up your plaids, my lads!
Cock up your bonnets!"

travagant concessions these men made as extravagant promises, assuring him that they would not only not serve against him, but would be ready to give their service whenever His Majesty should require them." 1641. —

The peace was not, however, of long duration, and in 1643 the Earl of Leven again appeared on the Scotch frontier in command of the forces sent to the assistance of the English Parliament. Here he took part in the battle of Marston Moor, the 3rd July, 1644,—a hurry-scurry affair of but a few hours, in which the several armies that were engaged under Prince Rupert and Newcastle, Fairfax and Leven, were all contending separately at lanes' ends, without any General knowing in the least what was happening a dozen yards distant from himself. The Scots are asserted to have been totally routed and defeated, and Leven, their General, to have fled ten miles from the field, where he was taken up by a constable and detained in custody till most part of the next day was past, when the news came in that Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day with their horse, both of them having been wounded, and many of their best officers killed. Battle of Marston Moor, 3rd July, 1644.

After the important victory of Marston Moor the Earl of Leven retraced his steps to lay siege to Newcastle, which detained him for some time. The Scottish army, after obtaining possession of that place, continued more or less upon the border during the greater part of the year 1645, holding Newcastle, until circumstances induced them, in November, to advance and lay siege to Newark. Here it was, in the first days of May, 1646, "very early in the morning" that, "to the surprise and astonishment of Leven, the King appeared in the General's lodging, and discovered himself to him." Exceedingly surprised as Leven was, or seemed to be, he was somewhat confounded at His Majesty's presence; but he presently sent an express to London on the 6th to inform the Houses of the unexpected news, "as a thing the Scots had not the Leslie lays siege to Newcastle: singular interview with the King at Newark: Leslie's behaviour on that occasion, May, 1646.

1646. least imagination of." The Parliament were at once sensible of the advantage obtained by the Scots in having possession of the King's person, and were at first disposed to desire Fairfax, with the army before Oxford, to raise the siege of that city, and to march with all expedition to Newark. But the Scottish Commissioners in London, who saw the advantage they had gained, and who are believed to have intrigued for it through M. Montreuil, the French Envoy, diverted the Parliament from so hostile a step, assuring them "that their army should carefully watch that His Majesty did not dispose himself to go some whither else."

Leven had probably intimate knowledge from the Scotch Commission in London of what was in the wind when he received the King. He showed all personal reverence to the King, but held no communication with him, nor did he suffer the officers of his army to have any discourse with His Majesty. But the General felt that it would be proper for the safety of his Royal charge to carry him forthwith northward, near to the Scottish border; and, in order to do the work properly, the King was requested to give immediate order to the Lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, which was done accordingly; and immediately afterwards the army began to march, and came with the King to Newcastle on the 7th.

Presbyterian sermons before King.

This move was very grateful to Charles, and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was always particularly attentive to the language and behaviour of the Presbyterian preachers, from which he commonly foresaw what was like to be done: for it was the custom of that age to make the pulpit the medium of news, whether the intelligence were important or otherwise; and the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy for passages applicable to the occasion. The first minister who preached before the King chose these words for his text:—

"And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan? 1646.

"And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?

"And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel[2]."

On which text the preacher gave men cause to believe that now that they had gotten their King they were resolved to keep him and adhere to him. Another preacher, however, adopted a contrary tone, and, after reproaching Charles to his face with his misgovernment, gave out this Psalm to be sung:

> "Why dost thou, Tyrant, boast thyself
> Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

The King saw clearly from this that the Covenanting zealots were in no wise pacified towards him. But as soon as they had sung the Psalm as ordered, Charles stood up in the midst, and called for that Psalm which begins with these words:

> "Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
> For men would me devour."

And the good-natured congregation in pity to fallen Majesty showed, for once, some deference for the King, by singing the Psalm which he had called for.

[2] 2 Sam. xix. 41—43.

1646. — Leslie holds the King in close custody at Newcastle.

Charles soon found that he had very little reason to be pleased with his new position. The French ambassador, M. Montreuil, who had put himself between His Majesty and the Earl of Leven to facilitate his surrender to the Scottish army, was now restrained from having any further conference with His Majesty. Jack Ashburnham, also, of his bedchamber, and the friend who had accompanied the King in his singular flight out of Oxford, was now advised to "shift for himself, or else that he would be delivered up to the Parliament." All supposed friendly to the King were kept at a distance; and no intercourse was allowed him, either by letter or conversation, with such as were suspected of any attachment to him. He was in fact a close prisoner at Newcastle, and very strictly guarded. Many persons of quality repaired thither; but while the Earl of Leven observed all distance and performed all the customary treatment of Charles as King, yet he suffered none to approach His Majesty, although he endeavoured to persuade as well His Majesty as those of the nobility, that he meant well, and would in time discover his further intentions.

Charles commands Montrose to disband his army; the King's firm adherence to Episcopacy.

Nevertheless Leven persuaded the King to give orders to the Marquis of Montrose to lay down his arms and to quit the kingdom; which order that heroical spirit obeyed, and transported himself to France without another word; but when the Earl next employed Alexander Henderson to talk His Majesty out of Episcopacy, he was found much too resolute in his conviction and much too hard in his argumentation to be convinced. A French Ambassador had also been sent out of France by Cardinal Mazarin, and arrived at Newcastle, who opened a like battery upon him from the other quarter, assuring him that, after some talk with the influential of the party in London, "nothing could be done in the King's behalf except he would give up the Church, and extirpate Episcopacy." But His Excellency quickly informed the Cardinal "that the King

would not give that satisfaction to the Parliament." On which Queen Henrietta Maria sent over Sir William Davenant, who was permitted by Leven to see the King at Newcastle, to declare Her Majesty's opinion "that the King should part with the Church for his peace and security." 1646.

Leslie refuses to obey the orders of the Parliament to send the King to Warwick Castle.

Very soon after the Earl had arrived at Newcastle he received a positive command from the Parliament to send the person of the King forthwith to Warwick Castle—but he had answered this by prevailing with the King to send orders for the surrender of Oxford; so that in his reply to this he contended that, as His Majesty had no more forces on foot nor garrisons which held out for him, the war was virtually at an end. The Parliament was very much offended at the presumption of Leven in neglecting to send the King according to their wishes to Warwick: but as the King, in consenting to disband his forces, had desired to receive in return some propositions for peace, the Parliament sent about the end of July the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, and Sir John Danvers, Sir John Hippisley, Mr. Robinson, and Sir Walter Earle, to wait upon the King at Newcastle; but what they brought contained such an eradication of the government of Church and State, that the King told them "he knew not what power or authority they proposed to leave to him or his heirs, if he acceded to all that they had desired." The Earl of Loudon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, urged the King in a speech of some length to agree to the propositions that the Parliament's Commissioners had brought; but His Majesty was not pleased to take his advice.

The King refuses to give his consent to the propositions of the Parliament: dissensions

In the beginning of September the Duke of Hamilton, who had been arrested, with his brother the Earl of Lanark, at Oxford by the King's orders, and sent prisoner to Pendennis Castle, and had been thence removed to St. Michael's Mount, from whence he had been at length enlarged, and had been to London, now

1646. — between the English and Scotch commissioners respecting the safe keeping of the King's person.

came to Newcastle with other Commissioners, and was permitted to see the King. He earnestly pressed His Majesty to accept the propositions for peace. The Duke was answered,—"that His Majesty did not give any denial to the propositions, but only desired that his reasons against them might be heard." As the Scots concurred with the English in imposing such severe conditions on the King, and His Majesty still refused to accept of them, a delicate question remained,—What was to be done with the King? He was still as it were a prisoner under the charge of the Earl of Leven. The Scotch Commissioners maintained that Charles was King of Scotland as well as of England, and that they had the right of possession. The English asserted that, as the King was a prisoner in England, he was under the jurisdiction of England, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. This altercation continued till the end of the year.

Price demanded by the Scots for the surrender of the King to the English Parliament.

At length the Scotch Commissioners offered to send their army away with the King unless they received reasonable satisfaction for their pains, hazards, charges, and sufferings. The Parliament desired them to send in their bill, and they delivered in an account of arrears due amounting to two millions. The Parliament disputed several articles, and deducted such sums as the Scots had received At last, after many debates, the Scots offered to accept of a sum in gross for a full discharge of these arrears. They at first insisted on 500,000*l.*, and the House of Commons offered 200,000*l.* and afterwards raised their offer to 300,000*l.*, until the Scots abating something off their demand, it was agreed to allow them the sum of 400,000*l.*, one-half to be paid upon the removal of their army out of the Kingdom, and the other at certain times. This is the fatal bargain whereby the Scots sold the King to the Parliament of England; although great pains were taken by the Scots to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from

that for the delivery of the King's person, yet common sense requires that they should be regarded as one and the same transaction. The Declaration of the Parliament of Scotland, as published on the delivering up of the King, glosses the matter in these terms:—"Being now to retire their army out of England, the Commissioners represent their renewed desires to His Majesty with the danger that may ensue by his delay or refusal to make good his propositions for peace; but, considering that His Majesty hath expressed his desires to be near to his two Houses of Parliament, and that the Parliament of England have passed a resolution that Holmby House, in the County of Northampton, is the place which the Houses think fit for the King to come unto: therefore the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland do declare their concurrence that His Majesty should repair to Holmby or any other of His Majesty's houses in or about London, there to remain till he give satisfaction to both his Kingdoms in the propositions of peace: and that in the interim there be no harm, prejudice, injury, nor violence done to his Royal person." 1646.

Thus the Earl of Leven was at length relieved of the custody of King Charles, which he had now held for eight months, and on the 30th January, 1646-7, upon payment of £200,000 in hand, and sufficient security for the other moiety, the person of the King was delivered to the Commissioners sent by the English Parliament to Newcastle, and on that same day the Scotch army began their march towards Scotland.

Leslie is committed to the Tower of London: his death: his personal appearance and character.

We now lose sight of the Earl of Leven until 1648, when, an army having been raised for the rescue of the King, he refused the command which was offered him, and it was taken by Duke Hamilton, with what ill-success is well known; but the Earl, being suspected of an intention to join the army preparing for the assistance of Charles II. in 1651, he was surprised by a detachment of Monk's army at Dundee, and carried

1648. prisoner to the Tower of London, whence he was only released at the intercession of Queen Christina of Sweden, out of regard and sympathy for one who had served under her great father's orders. The Earl of Leven died in 1651. All that is known of his outward person and appearance is contained in a letter of the Reverend Robert Baillie, one of the leaders of the Covenanting clergy, where he is termed "that old, little, crooked soldier to whom all gave themselves over to be guided as if he had been great Solyman," and the obedience of the nobles to "that man's advice was as great as their forebeers' wont to be to their King's command; yet that was the man's understanding of our Scots' humours that he gave out his directions in a very homely and simple form, as if they had been but the advice of their neighbour and companion." His hospitality is also thus noticed; "The fare at Leslie's long side-table was as became a General in time of war; our meanest soldiers were always served with wheat bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg, which was a dainty world to most of them." His army is described "as a fantastical but well organized array of blue-bonnets, black-gowns, and blackguards:" the Earl is described in these terms, "the coolness of the good old General;" and his discipline may be inferred from "Leslie's Articles of War[3]."

[3] Clarendon; Rapin; Hume; "Life of Montrose;" Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border."

SIR DAVID LESLEY, LORD NEWARK,

A COMMANDER FOR THE SCOTCH KIRK.

His ancestry: captures Carlisle: defeats Montrose at Philiphaugh, 13th Sept., 1645.

THIS leader is supposed to have been a descendant of the Earls of Rothes, of whom one branch carried the peerage of Lord Newark, by which title Sir David is known. Of his youth and antecedents I have been unable to find any thing, but that in 1640 he served under his kinsman as Lieutenant-General of Cavalry at Dunse. Next he comes in story as the besieger of Carlisle, in 1645, which he captured out of the hands of Thomas Glenham, who held it for the King against David Lesley for the space of eleven months "till the garrison had eaten up all the horses." On the morning of the 6th September in this year he crossed the Tweed from the Scotch army then at Carlisle to serve against Montrose, who had at that time received his instructions from the King to march towards the frontier to join a force that Charles had sent up from Newark to meet him there. On the 13th David Lesley lay quartered at Selkirk, within four miles of Philiphaugh, a plain near Selkirk, where the King's Lieutenant had drawn up his army on the left bank of the Ettrick. He availed himself of a thick fog to get within half a mile of Montrose's position before he was perceived, and then he dashed in upon the wild Irish and as wild Highlanders who composed the Marquis's army, as they quietly reposed in the thickets of Hare-head Wood. Making an easy *détour* across the river with 2000, he led 3000 or 4000 of the flower of the Scottish cavalry against the position, surprised,

1645. utterly routed, and scattered the whole body. Scarcely a man except the Marquis and about thirty Cavaliers escaped. David Lesley, having thus successfully accomplished his mission, returned to the Scotch army at Hereford. Lesley is accused of having disgraced himself by the cruelty he exercised after his success at Philiphaugh, and he obtained for it the sobriquet of "the Executioner." Guthrie, the Chaplain of Montrose, asserts that Lesley "inhumanly butchered" his prisoners; yet at the same time the same writer adds that "Argyle and a bloody preacher, John Nevoy, let the army loose upon them and killed them without mercy, at which the General turned about and said, "Now Mass John, have you not for once gotten your fill of blood;" and Sir James Turner records that "he had several times spoken to the Lieutenant-General to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it;" for "he knew of himself he was unwilling to shed their blood[1]."

Again defeats Montrose at Corbiesdale, 1650.

After the King's death on an endeavour to proclaim Charles II. in the North of Scotland, David Lesley was appointed, with a party of horse and foot, to disperse the Royalists under Middleton. In the year 1650, Montrose landed a small expedition at the Orkneys of a few hundred men, principally Dutch and Germans; and David Lesley was ordered to proceed into the Highlands to encounter him with a force of horse and foot. His advance, consisting of a choice body of cavalry, under Colonel Strachan, a diligent and active officer, came up with the Marquis near the pass of Invercarron, and, acting upon information he had collected, he laid an ambuscade at a place called Corbiesdale, near to the river Oikel, into which the great Marquis fell, and found himself in the midst of the greatly superior forces of David Lesley, together with those of General Holbourn and the Earl of

[1] Napier.

Sutherland. About two hours sufficed to destroy the hero and his ill-prepared little army. But the apparent good fortune of Montrose enabled him, in conjunction with the Earls of Kinnaird and Sinclair, to escape in person, although with extreme difficulty, from this ill-fated and bloody field. For three days he and his companions wandered up the banks of the Oikel without food or sustenance; under which severity of hardships the young Kinnoul died; but on the 4th May, Montrose fell into the hands of Macleod of Assint, who carried him to David Lesley at Tain, in whose custody he continued until he was delivered in ordinary course to the civil power. 1650. —

Lesley is appointed Lieutenant-General of the Royal army: baffles Cromwell.

When Charles II. embarked from Holland to be received in Scotland, and to be crowned there, it became necessary for the ruling party of the Covenanters to prepare themselves for an encounter with Cromwell, who was already in the field, and marching up to Scotland. His Majesty was therefore persuaded to make David Lesley the Lieutenant-General of his army, having Middleton under him in command of the horse, and Wemys in command of the artillery. Lesley, who is called by Napier, "the best soldier that ever degraded the character under the Covenant," formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the Lothians every thing that could serve for the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell entered Scotland on the 22nd July without opposition; but he was seriously inconvenienced at finding the country through which he marched utterly destitute of inhabitants, and of every thing capable of affording subsistence for his army. He nevertheless was enabled to obtain some supplies from the fleet that had accompanied him north; but, on coming in sight of the enemy's camp, and finding it too well entrenched to be attacked, he sought by every wile in his power to endeavour to bring Lesley out to battle.

1650. — The difficulties attending the supply of his army made it imperative on him to retire, which he did as far as Musselhaugh, on the 26th August; whereupon Lesley detached a large body of horse, which fell upon the English rear, commanded by Lambert. The day after this there was another sharp skirmish in which the Scots beat some English regiments, but in the end were repulsed with considerable loss. By such small encounters Lesley tried to confirm the spirits of his raw soldiers. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage, and the King came to the camp; but the Clergy, in whose hands he was, got alarmed at the reception given him there, for he readily gained the affections of the soldiery, who were more taken with him than with the Committee of talking gown-men; and accordingly these men carried His Majesty away again as quickly as possible from the camp.

Cromwell totally routs the Scots under Lesley, at Dunbar, 3rd Sept.

Cromwell found himself in a very embarrassing position for want of provisions and forage, and determined on withdrawing to Dunbar, whither his fleet had proceeded; and it is said to have been his design to have embarked his foot and artillery, and to have marched back to England at the head of his horse. The madness of the Scotch Presbyterians saved him from this dishonour. "They murmured openly against the Lord" on account of the delay in receiving deliverance after having wrestled so long in prayer; and went to the profaneness of declaring that "if the Lord would not save them from these English sectaries, He should no longer be their God." They now asserted that they had gained their point, for they had received a revelation "that Agag (meaning Cromwell), should be delivered into their hands." When therefore the English army was put in motion they impressed upon Lesley the expediency of following after him; but the General was not for attacking the enemy, but for allowing them to embark without exposing himself to a defeat. In consequence of the belief entertained in the army that

the English were seized with terror, Lesley ordered a march on the 1st September as far as the Lammermuir hills, which overlook the harbour of Dunbar at about a mile distance. Cromwell watched their descent out of their fortified camp with joy, and exclaimed to those around him, "God has given them into our hands." He immediately summoned his army to prayer, telling them of the revelations he had received, which assured him that God would give them the victory. The two armies, both professedly confident of the Divine favour, remained in sight for the rest of the day; but at night —2nd to 3rd—there lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Lesley held possession; but an hour before day of the 3rd September Cromwell issued orders to march against them, and to attack these several detachments. The usual advantage of a well-disciplined force remained with Cromwell; but he had not more than 12,000 men, while the Scots had 27,000. But it was ever Cromwell's maxim to attack without regard to numbers, being well persuaded that the assailants have always a great advantage. The Scotch cavalry, though it behaved well at the first onset, was at last put to flight. The left wing of their infantry fled without a shot, but the right wing fought with great bravery, especially one regiment, which was the least infected with fanaticism, who were almost all slain upon the spot. The Scots lost about 3000 men, besides many thousand prisoners, and after their defeat abandoned Leith and Edinburgh, and fell back upon Stirling. 1650.

Charles II. crowned at Scone 1st Jan. 1651: Lesley is made Major-General.

After the defeat at Dunbar a new army was to be raised to oppose Cromwell; but while it was raising, the King made an attempt at flight, which was afterwards called "the Start;" but being brought back again, he was carried to Scone, and there crowned on the 1st January, 1651, on which occasion he renewed his oath to the Covenant. The army consisted of 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, headed by the King himself,

1650. having Duke Hamilton for Lieutenant-General; David Lesley for "his very long experience and good name in war" was constituted Major-General, and Middleton Lieutenant-General of the horse. Cromwell, who had been taken ill at Edinburgh in the winter, and was still suffering, was badly supplied with forage for his army, and not ready for the field; but Lesley judged it proper from the inexperience of his troops to take the field in search of him, and encamped at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling, which he entrenched in front, but had a large and deep river behind him, of which the passes were all secured; but the position enabled the army to obtain all its supplies out of Fife. Cromwell soon came to his front, but was unable to attack; and thus the two armies remained until the 3rd July.

Cromwell threatens Stirling: the King adopts the resolution to march into England.

At length Cromwell, unwilling to lose more time, or unable any longer to stay in his camp, by reason of the difficulty in obtaining provisions, while the King's army was plentifully supplied out of Fife, resolved to attempt to deprive the enemy of the advantage. Wherefore he despatched a considerable body under Lambert to pass the Frith, while he threatened an attack upon the intrenchments. This body easily overthrew Holborne and Brown, who defended the pass, and Cromwell passed over with his entire army, and, having taken St. Johnson, threatened Stirling. This reduced the King to a desperate condition, and put him into new counsels. It has been the generally received opinion that the resolution now adopted was the idea of Charles himself, a young man of inexperience and immature years. But although I contend for the enterprise of "mind and muscle" rather than "the experience of age," I suspect that it was the suggestion of David Lesley in the Council. The army numbered 18,000 men, and it was reasonable to suppose that the "King's name" would rally round it in England both Royalists and Presbyterians, who were equally

oppressed by the Independent Parliament; in aid of the proposal by the position of the armies and the recent step taken by Cromwell the Royal army was nearer England than the enemy. With whomsoever then the idea originated, the sudden resolve was adopted to march into England. It received the unanimous assent of all the principal officers present at the Council excepting Argyle, and was readily adopted by the King as a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Hereupon the army was put in motion for Carlisle with extraordinary diligence; and expresses were despatched into Lancashire to give notice of the King's purpose, and to the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man, to meet His Majesty in the county of which he was the Lieutenant. Argyle, on finding his advice scouted, retired to his house in the Highlands. The news of the King's march took Cromwell greatly by surprise, and he did not hear of it till the first days of August, when he gave Lambert orders to follow the Royal army with 700 or 800 horse; but he was unable to march himself till the King had gone three days. He then made all possible haste in order to anticipate the possibility of the King's reaching London before him, not questioning but that he would march direct on the capital without halting. 1651.

When the King reached Warrington he found Lambert there before him. While the whole army was here drawn up, and with all the appearance of being very cheerful, the King asked David Lesley, whom he thought to have the appearance of being sad and melancholy, "How he could be sad when he was at the head of so brave an army?" and demanded of him "How he liked them?" To which the Major-General replied in the King's ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he knew well that the army, howsoever well it might look, would not fight." The weather was exceedingly hot, and both horse and foot began to be weary of the march;

1651. so that, unless they could rest, they would not be able to fight. The army therefore must have rest; and, as no other enemy than Lambert had yet appeared, the march to London was given up, and they proceeded to Shrewsbury, and thence to Worcester. Here the army had good quarters, and the place and neighbourhood were well affected to the King; so that neither officer nor soldier was in any degree willing to renew the march until they should be thoroughly refreshed.

Dissension among the Officers of the Royal army.

While the King's army rested at Worcester, Cromwell was crossing Yorkshire with all speed; and the King, resolving to await his coming, recommended to General Lesley to make a perfect view of the ground about the city, that every advantage might be taken of it to receive the enemy where they were. But dissensions invariably creep into the field Councils of Kings; and the Duke of Buckingham, who had a most restless mind, and thought himself not to have credit enough with the King unless it were made manifest that he had more than any body else, told His Majesty that it was not the way to make himself gracious in England that the army should be under the command of a Scottish General, and that it was not the way to begin to exercise any influence by making the English nobility and gentry to serve under David Lesley. To this the King propounded the question, "Whom it was that he thought fit that His Majesty should give the command to?" to which the Duke replied, to the perfect amazement of the King, "that he hoped His Majesty would confer it on himself." The King broke off the discourse; but the Duke would not be put off, and next day renewed his importunity, adding, "that he was confident that what he proposed was evidently for his service, and that David Lesley himself would willingly consent to it." These passages could not be kept so secret but that they would reach the General, who was already on terms with another Englishman—

General Middleton—who was indeed an excellent commander, and one much loved by the officers: so that Lesley became dispirited, and gave and revoked his orders, or gave contradictory ones; and this was most frequent at a moment when the joint concurrence in Council was most desirable. 1651.

Arrival of Cromwell: battle of Worcester: total rout of the King's forces, 3rd Sept.: character of Lesley.

On the 1st September Cromwell, with an army of 30,000 men, arrived near Worcester after a very fatiguing march. His army was very superior, if not double in number to that with the King. Nevertheless, if the rules that had been issued had been observed; if the entrenchments that had been ordered had been cast up; if the order in quartering the men which had been resolved upon when the King came thither had been attended to; and if the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city had been taken, the disastrous result that followed could not have ensued. It was noon on the 3rd when Cromwell, without troubling himself with much circumspection, directed his troops to fall on in all places at once, merely causing a party to pass over the river at the pass by which Massey had formerly secured the town. Here they encountered Duke Hamilton and Middleton, who made a very brave resistance, but the former was mortally wounded, and died the next day. The King was at his midday meal when he was apprised that both armies were engaged; but he presently mounted his horse, which was ready at the door, and met the whole body of his cavalry running in such disorder that he could not stop them, though he called to many officers by their names. But though His Majesty could not get a body of horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him. Amidst the confusion there was David Lesley "as cool as an icicle," in the midst of his own equipage as if he was not disposed to run away upon the sudden. He was trying to establish some order, some regularity, and some obedience. The jealousy of the Scotch General still continued, aggravated if possible

1651. by the pale fright that possessed the grumblers. His own countrymen declared that he had been corrupted by Cromwell, others that he did not understand his profession, which had been the business of his life. At length he got together above 1500 horse into some organization, and with them he reached Yorkshire. He could not, however, keep his force together, and in the endeavour he was asked by Sir William Amourer "which way he thought it best to go?" which when he had named, the other said, "then he would go t'other way," for he swore that Lesley had betrayed the King and the army all the time. But there appeared no good cause to suspect any treachery in David Lesley, or that he had been any ways unfaithful in his charge. Certainly he showed no ability in his preparations for the battle at Worcester, of which he had the most ample notice. Cromwell passed through his line as though it had been made of gossamer, and he had no single resource at hand to recover the fortune of the day. Yet the King himself did not believe him false, but expressed his opinion of him as an excellent cavalry officer, capable of distributing and executing the orders given him, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. He was now made prisoner and underwent all the severities of a long imprisonment, but he never recovered his reputation in his lifetime, either with the Royalists or the Presbyterians—either in England or Scotland.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER,

A PARLIAMENT GENERAL.

Born 1597—Died 1668.

His ancestry and early military training: battle of Edge-hill: serves under the Earl of Essex.

HE was descended, as well as the illustrious poet Edmund Waller, from an ancient family at Spendhurst in the County of Kent. His first education was at Oxford, which he afterwards completed at Paris. He began his military career in the service of the Confederate Protestant Princes of Germany against the Emperor, in which he acquired the reputation of a good soldier, so that upon his return home he was distinguished by the honour of Knighthood by King Charles the First at the beginning of his reign. Sir William was elected a member of the Long Parliament for Andover, but having suffered under the severity of the Star Chamber on the occasion of a private quarrel with one of his wife's relations, he became a determined opponent of the Court, and the more readily associated himself with the Presbyterian party against Episcopacy, from the religious prejudices he had imbibed in Germany. When Portsmouth declared for the King by the influence of Lord Goring, Sir William Waller was sent with a good part of the Parliament army to block it up, so that neither men nor provisions might get in. He was with the left wing of Essex's army at Edge-hill, from whence Sir Faithful Fortescue, who was his Major, went over to Prince Rupert in the charge. After that battle he laid siege to Farnham Castle, which he captured with little resistance. In 1643, the Earl of Essex sent him horse, foot, and cannon to invest Chichester, which surrendered to him upon articles after a week or ten days' siege. With

1643. — a light party of near 2000 men, Sir William made a quick march through Wiltshire, and surprised Lord Herbert with a Welsh force of about the same numbers of horse and foot on the Severn, six miles from Gloucester, and, with equal celerity, Waller advanced to Hereford and Tewkesbury, both which he captured, then returned to the Earl of Essex's army. He afterwards made an attempt upon Worcester, in which he failed, and then being "full of reputation," he rejoined Essex before Reading, and was summoned by the Parliament to London.

Waller encounters Prince Maurice at Lansdown: is defeated at Roundway Down, and at Cropredy Bridge: his death.

Great apprehensions having been entertained at the King's progress in the West of England, it was resolved at Westminster that a separate army should march thither, and Sir William Waller was made choice of to command it, who established himself at Bath to collect the various detachments of horse and foot that could be obtained from the garrisons in Somersetshire. Here he received from London a regiment of 500 horse under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig, who appeared in scarlet, and so completely armed with iron shells or breastplates, that they were called by the other side the "Lobsters," and this was the first appearance of the "red-coats" on any service. These made a considerable impression upon the King's horse when they first encountered them, for they were unable, being unarmed, to bear a shock with them, and found that their swords, which were almost the only weapon of the Cavaliers, could not penetrate the armour of these cuirassiers. Prince Maurice and Lord Hertford had met with some successes against Waller, and were now advanced to Mairfield, five miles beyond Bath, towards Oxford, when, on the 5th July, Sir William drew out his forces from Bath as soon as it was light upon Lansdown, looking towards Mairfield. His first care was to throw up breastworks, for which he brought faggots or fascines, and behind these he placed his cannon. This sufficiently alarmed his adversaries,

so that although they formed in battalia they resolved not to make the attack under such a disadvantage. Sir William accordingly took the offensive, and sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces, which they did thoroughly, the cuirassiers carrying all before them. The Cornish men, who were with the reserves, were impatient to be led against the breastworks, "that they might have leave to fetch off those cannon." Two strong parties of musketeers were sent into the woods which flanked the enemy's position, while Sir Bevil Grenvil, leading up his pikes in the middle, gained the top of Lansdown in spite of the cannon; while the musketeers kept up so brisk a fire on the horse that a way was made for the whole body of the Royal army to stand upon the hill, the Parliament army retiring behind a stone wall upon the same level in reasonably good order. Here both parties rested till dark; but in the morning it was found that Waller had drawn off the field and marched back to Bath, leaving a great store of arms and gunpowder on the field behind him. By negligence, treachery, or accident, the whole of this powder was blown up, and many were killed and many maimed, of which when Sir William had received intelligence, having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, he returned to the hill the day but one after the previous battle, and found the King's army gone to Chippenham, whither he followed them. Here Prince Maurice drew up his army and offered battle, which Waller would not accept; for it is said, "Sir William, being a right good chooser of advantages, liked not the ground," on which the Royal army decamped to Devises, whither the Parliamentarians followed, pressing very hard with sharp skirmishers on their rear. At Devises the Prince was advised to leave all his foot and cannon, and to break through with all his horse and go to Oxford to obtain relief: and Waller on this bombarded the town with his guns and summoned

1643.

1643. — the troops to surrender; the terms offered were only quarter and civil usage, and these the garrison refused: and thus on the third day the Lord Wilmot came up to their relief from Oxford; and Waller, unable to prevent their junction with their friends, drew off on every side from the town, and placed himself in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway Down. Here he stood in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted. But, despising these advantages, he, on the advance of Wilmot, marched forward to meet the enemy. Sir Arthur Haslerig, with his cuirassiers, was launched in a charge to make the first impression; but Sir John Byron encountered them, routed them, and drove them back upon the enemy's other horse, while Wilmot fell upon the shaken squadrons with such reiterated force,—division on division,—that the entire body of Waller's cavalry was routed and dispersed. Lord Wilmot then quietly seized the cannon, and turned them upon the infantry, under which the Cornish foot assailed them, killing or taking prisoners so many that very few escaped. The Earl of Essex roundly reproached his former subordinate with unsoldierly neglects and want of courage—to permit himself to be beaten by a handful of men, and to have abandoned his foot and cannon without engaging his own person in one single charge against the enemy. Although in the subsequent year Sir William engaged Lord Hopton with some advantage at Alresford, yet this was speedily followed by such a defeat from the King at Cropredy Bridge, over the river Cherwell, near to Banbury, that Waller with an army of 8000 men lost nearly one-half by defeat or desertion. After this he was laid aside as a Commander for the Parliament; but, surviving the Restoration, he was elected one of the Representatives for Middlesex, and died at Osterley Park, in that county, September 19, 1668.

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THE END.

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